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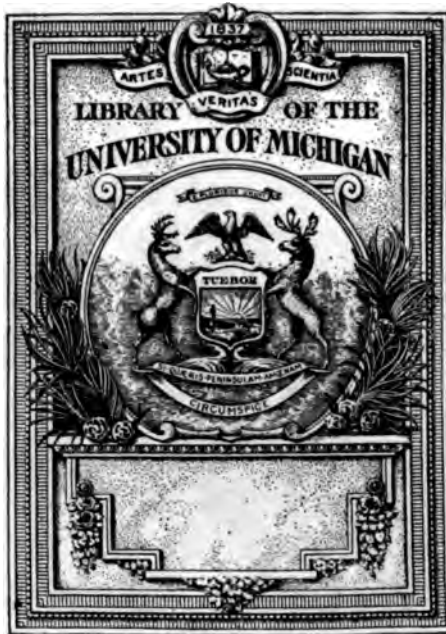
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HISTORY OF
MISSOURI

VOLUME I



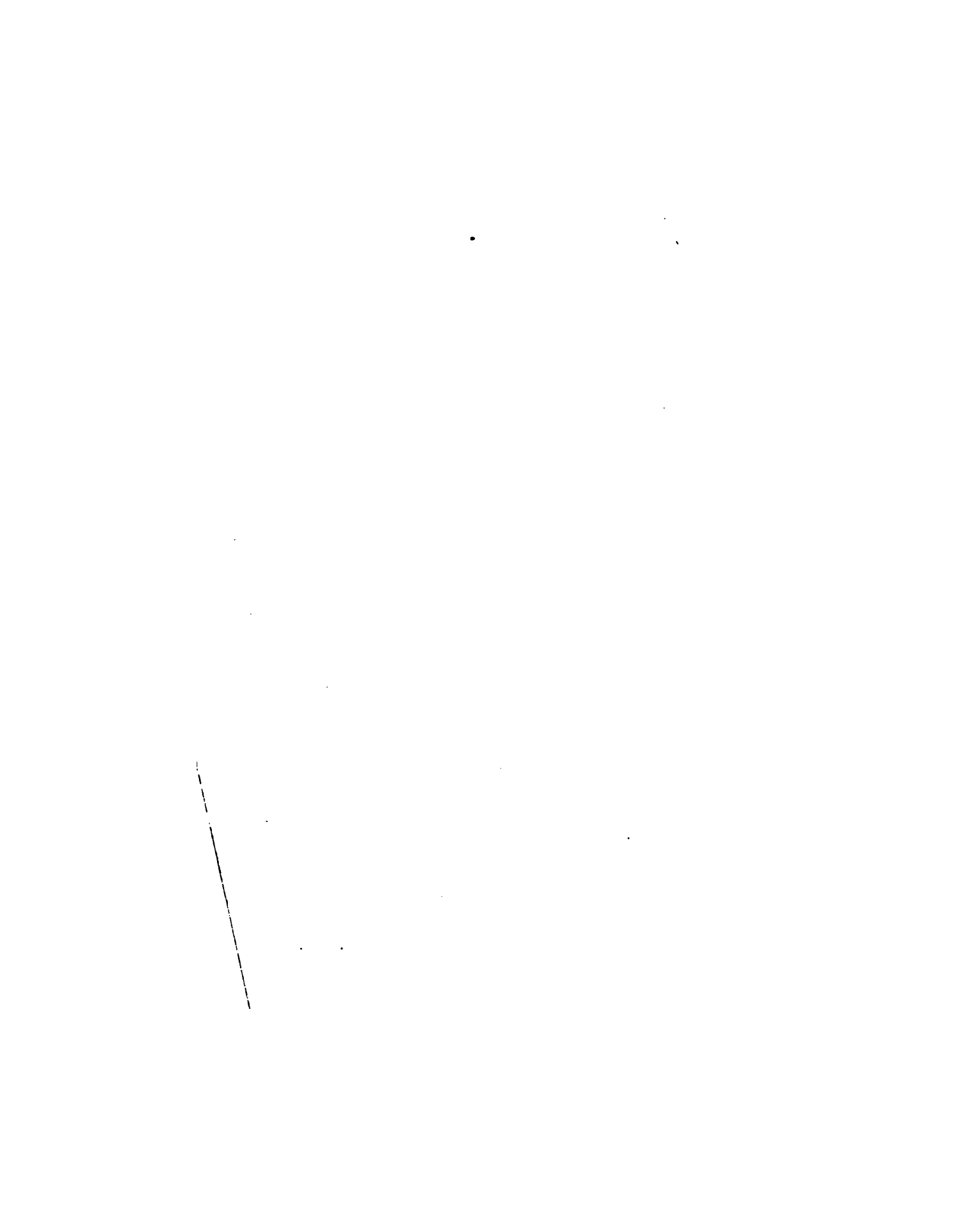


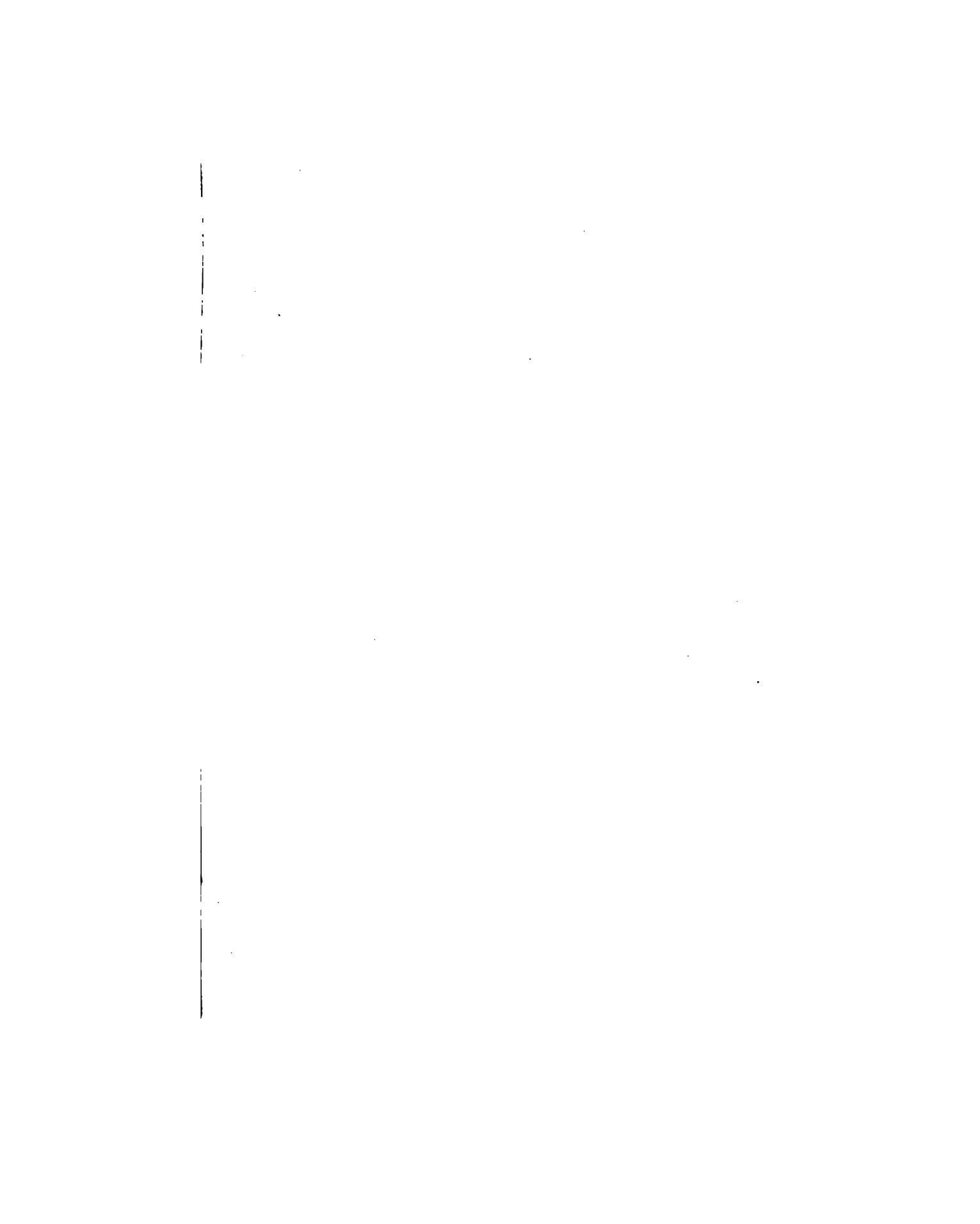
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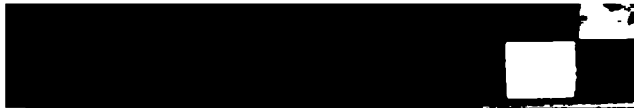




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THE MISSOURI FLAG
Adopted by the Legislature in 1913.



A HISTORY OF MISSOURI



BY

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KIRKSVILLE, MISSOURI



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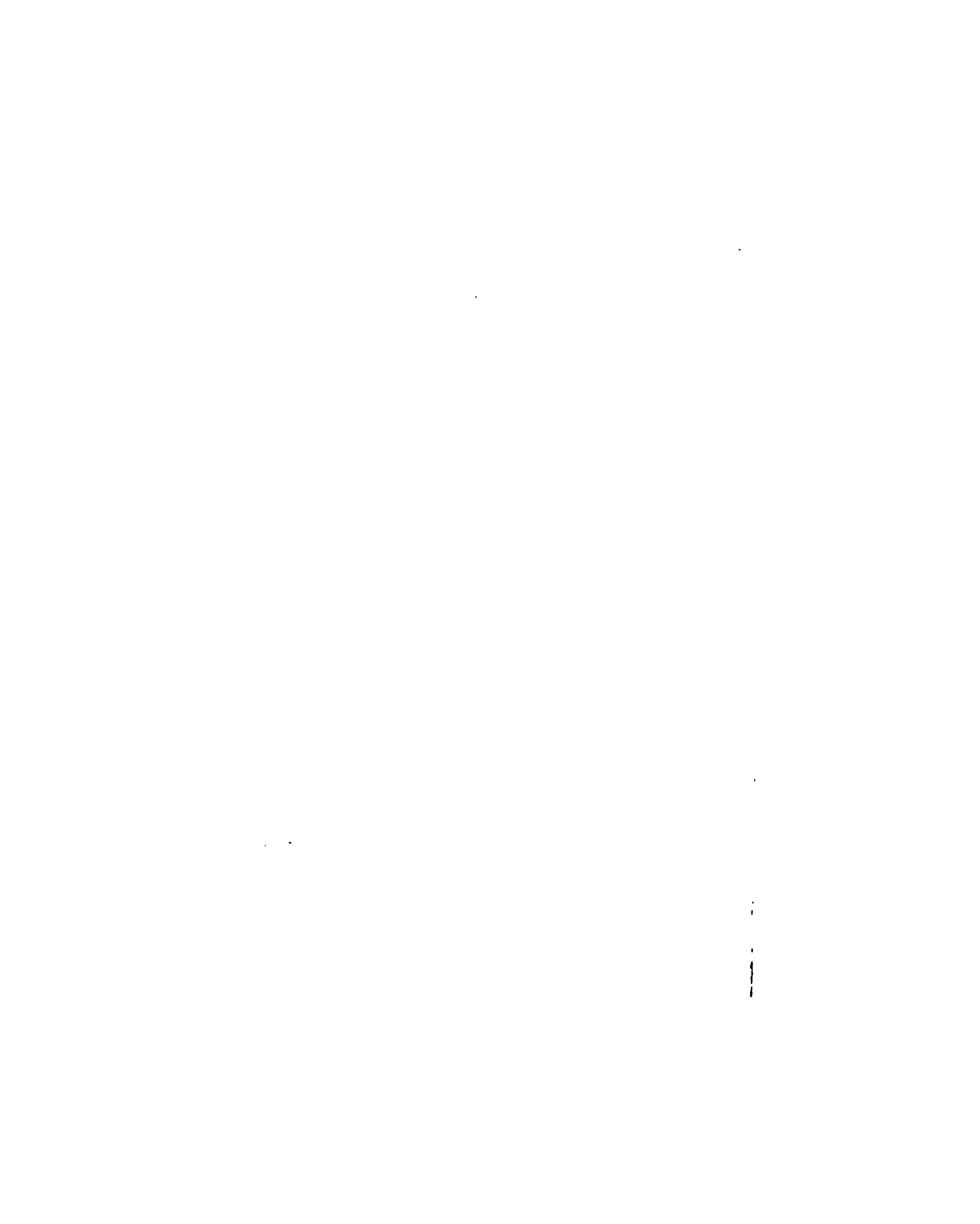
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TO MY WIFE

10-02-14

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PREFACE

MISSOURI has had a history of unusual interest. But unfortunately Missourians do not know the history of their own State as they should. This is due largely to the fact that not enough books of a more or less popular nature have been written on this subject. At present the only books available that cover the whole field of Missouri history are designed for use as texts in the elementary schools of the State, such as those by Rader, Williams, and Viles. The more standard works, such as those by Carr and Switzler, are either out of date or out of print. There are a number of special works dealing with different periods or subjects in Missouri history, but they are more or less expensive and hence will never have a very wide circulation. Under these circumstances a new manual of Missouri history seems to be greatly needed, and it is in response to such a need that this book has been written and offered to the reading public.

The plan of this book departs very widely from that which has been generally followed in the writing of state histories. Usually a state history relates in chronological order the more important events that have happened within the borders of the state, whether those events were strictly local in character or were of national import and connection. In this work no space is given to things that are strictly local. The effort has been to deal with only those topics in Missouri history that have significance in the history of the nation. And in order that the reader may know just what has been considered as the historical background for the topics in Missouri history that are dealt with in this book, a statement is made at the beginning of each chapter in-

dicating the subject in our national history that constitutes the historical setting for that chapter. The reader is presumed to be acquainted with the outlines of American history before he takes up the reading or the study of this book, but if he should feel uncertain as to his knowledge of American history or should wish to review those topics that furnish the background for this work, he will find that any of the standard texts in American history used in the high schools of the State will give him the essential information necessary for the successful use of this book.

Inasmuch as this work is constructed along lines altogether different from those that have usually been followed in the writing of state histories, persons who are familiar with the other histories of Missouri will find that many things are omitted from the present volume which they might expect to find. For example, many of the governors of the State are not mentioned. But the things omitted have made room for other matter that has been regarded as of greater historical importance, and hence certain topics have been developed more fully than they have been heretofore in the manuals of Missouri history.

In constructing this book on this plan, I have hoped that it might find a place not only in the Reading Circle course but also in the high schools of the State as a book of reference in connection with the courses in American history. Heretofore the history of Missouri has been taught only in the elementary school, as is the case with practically all state histories. But the study of state history in the elementary school has not proved an unqualified success, largely because it has been taught there without its natural setting. It is not likely that state history will ever be introduced into the high school as a separate subject. The curriculum of the high school is already crowded. And even if it were possible to introduce it there as a separate subject, it would fail of success as

it has in the elementary school. There is, therefore, but one way of getting state history into the high school, and that is by connecting it with the course in American history; and effective connection with the course in American history can be secured only by selecting for study those topics in state history that have their historical setting in our national history.

This method of presenting Missouri history in the high school is not altogether untried. In 1914 I published privately a few chapters on the early history of Missouri which were intended to be used in connection with the course in American history. These were placed in the hands of several teachers who were conducting high school classes in American history, to see if there were any merit in the method. The success which was reported as a result of this plan of study encouraged me to proceed with what I had started out to accomplish. This book is the result. In two of the best high schools of the State the manuscript of this book has been used either in part or as a whole by the teachers of history in their classes in American history. They have kindly reported that the experiment turned out very satisfactorily with them and that they are heartily in favor of this method of presenting Missouri history in the high school.

In compiling the references that are to be found at the close of each chapter, great care was taken to name only those books or articles that are fairly accessible. It would have been very easy to have made many of the lists several times as long as they are. But if that had been done, most of the books mentioned in these lengthened lists would have been either out of print or very high priced and hence out of the reach of the majority of the readers. For these reasons no reference is given to such standard works as Switzler's *History of Missouri*. This book is out of print and can be had only at second-hand book stores in large cities at a very high

price. The same is true of many other standard works on Missouri history. It is believed, however, that the titles that have been mentioned in the reference lists will furnish the reader with a workable bibliography.

In preparing this book I have drawn heavily from not only the standard works but also the special contributions that have been made to Missouri history by a number of writers in recent years. Fortunately several well-trained historical investigators have turned their attention to Missouri history in the last fifteen years or so, and they have brought forth some highly creditable productions. Special mention should be made of Houck's *History of Missouri Down to 1821*, Shoemaker's *Missouri's Struggle for Statehood*, Million's *State Aid to Railways*, and Trexler's *Slavery in Missouri*. Besides these books and monographs a number of very fine articles have appeared in recent years in the *Missouri Historical Review* and the *Missouri Historical Society Collections* that are real contributions to our knowledge of Missouri history. These books and articles have been gleaned very thoroughly. No attempt has been made to indicate by footnotes the authorities from which material has been drawn. The footnotes have been used to elaborate upon the matter dealt with in the body of the text. But at the end of each chapter will be found the list of books and articles that have been my chief sources of information, and from which the quotations have generally been taken.

I am greatly indebted to a number of students of Missouri history for criticisms and suggestions. I cannot mention them all by name, but I must not fail to note my special obligation to Judge Walter B. Douglas of St. Louis, Professor C. H. McClure of the Warrensburg State Normal School, Miss Lucy Simmons of the Macon High School, Miss Benson Botts of the Mexico High School, Miss Reba Polson of the Muncie (Ind.) High School, Mr. F. C. Shoemaker, secretary of the State Historical Society, and Mr. William Clark Brecken-

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ridge of St. Louis. The last two mentioned are deserving of the highest gratitude on my part. Both have placed at my disposal their extensive knowledge of Missouri history and have never been too busy to answer my inquiries and appeals for assistance. Mr. Breckenridge has patiently read every line of the manuscript and has offered valuable suggestions on every chapter.

I am also under great obligation to Professor Isidor Loeb of the University of Missouri for his permission to reproduce the series of county maps of Missouri which had been made by the Political Science Department of that institution, and to the Missouri Historical Society, Mr. Louis Houck, Mrs. Vida E. Smith, and others for their permission to reproduce many of the maps and illustrations in this book.

E. M. VIOLETTE.

STATE NORMAL SCHOOL,
KIRKSVILLE, MISSOURI,
May 1, 1918.



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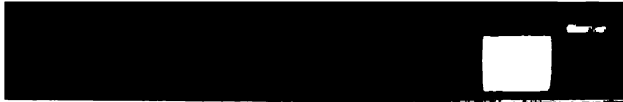
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A HISTORY OF
MISSOURI



HISTORY OF MISSOURI

CHAPTER I

EARLY FRENCH SETTLEMENTS IN MISSOURI, 1735-69

[*Historical Setting.*¹ — The French and Indian War, including the Treaty of Paris, 1763.]

We shall begin our study of the history of Missouri by taking a survey of the conditions that existed there shortly after the close of the French and Indian War. We might have chosen to begin with the explorations of Joliet, Marquette, and La Salle in the latter part of the seventeenth century, and thus have related the story of how these French men, starting out from Canada, reached the Mississippi River and in their descent of that stream passed along the eastern border of what is now Missouri, the first two going as far as the mouth of the Arkansas and the last to the mouth of the Mississippi itself. Or we might have begun with the explorations of DeSoto in the middle of the sixteenth century and have followed him in his wanderings from Tampa Bay, Florida, to the Mississippi River, and as some claim, into southeastern Missouri.

Introduc-
tion

But for our purposes it is not necessary that any of these explorations should be recounted here. Even if it were proved beyond a shadow of a doubt that DeSoto actually entered within the boundaries of the present State of Missouri, his coming was of no special significance to the history of the State. And as for Joliet, Marquette, and La Salle, their voyages were primarily significant for the

¹ For an explanation of the historical setting for each chapter, see the preface.

basis which they gave the French for their claims to the Mississippi Valley, and hence they mean no more in the history of one of the states of the Mississippi Valley than in that of any other in this region. In fact they are more properly topics in American history than in the history of any state, and as such are more or less familiar to all who know the story of our country. For these reasons we have decided to pass them over in this book and to come at once to matters that are somewhat local in character and yet have a setting in the history of the country at large. Hence the conditions that prevailed in Missouri at the time when, through the reverses of war, France lost her claims to what is now Missouri and all the rest of the Mississippi Valley, have been chosen for our first topic.

**Territorial
Losses of
France in
America,
1762-63**

It so happened that, by the close of the French and Indian War, Spain and England had divided between them the French possessions in the Mississippi Valley, Spain taking all west of the Mississippi River and also the Isle of Orleans, and England all east of that river except the Isle of Orleans. The cessions made to Spain were however, secret and were not officially announced to the French authorities in the province of Louisiana until October, 1764, two years after France had made her first treaty with Spain regarding the matter; and it was not until 1766 that Spanish officials arrived in New Orleans to take possession of what had been ceded to Spain. Indeed, it was not until 1769 that Spain was able to assume full authority in her new province.¹

¹ The delay of the Spanish officials in arriving in Spain's new possessions is attributed to the violent outburst of indignation which arose from the French settlers in Lower Louisiana on hearing that France had ceded their territory to Spain. Under these circumstances Spain felt it would be best to defer assuming control of her new territory until this feeling of indignation had somewhat abated. Thinking that the treaty was merely a temporary and provisional expedient, and feeling that they could prevent it from becoming permanent, the French settlers in Lower Louisiana sent a delega-

EARLY FRENCH SETTLEMENTS IN MISSOURI 3

At that time there were just two settlements in what is now Missouri; namely, Ste. Genevieve and St. Louis. But since we cannot well understand the history of the founding of these two settlements without knowing something about those that had been made in what is now Illinois, a few words must first be said about the latter.¹

Early
French Set-
tlements in
Illinois

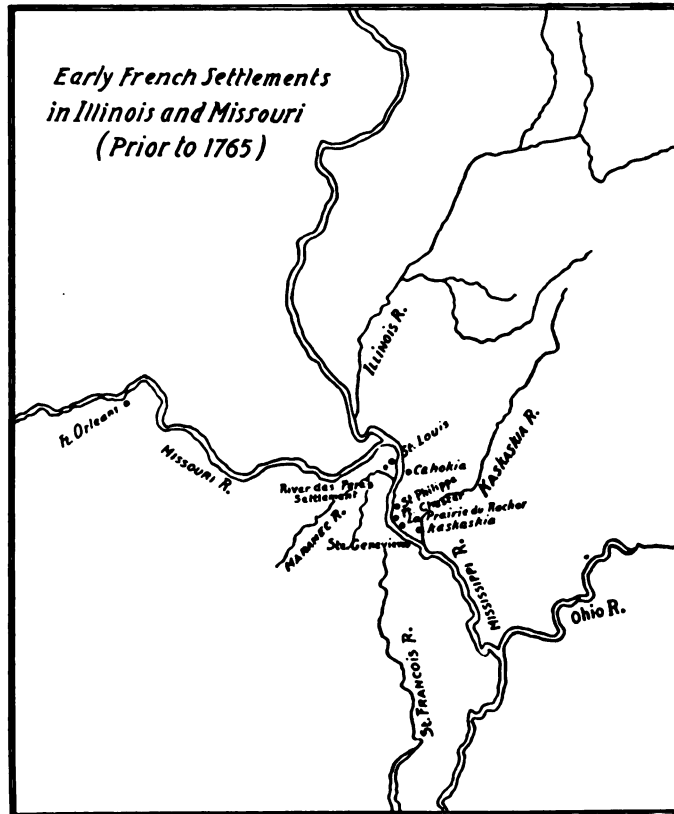
In 1769 there were at least five French settlements in what is now Illinois. They were Kaskaskia, La Prairie du Rocher (Rocky Meadow), Fort Chartres, St. Philippe, and Cahokia. These settlements were situated in a district that stretched along the Mississippi River for about seventy-five miles from near the mouth of the Missouri River to the mouth of the Kaskaskia.² They were of great strategic value to the French from both a commercial and a military point of view, forming an

1. Location

tion to France to remonstrate against the proposed cession. Although they could get no satisfactory assurances from the French government, they drew some hope from the prolonged delay of Spain in taking formal possession of the province, and were beginning to feel that possibly the treaty would never be carried out, when D'Ulloa arrived in New Orleans in 1766 to assume control in behalf of Spain. The French Supreme Council at New Orleans refused to recognize D'Ulloa and finally ordered him to leave the colony. Unwilling to assume the responsibility of taking forcible possession, D'Ulloa actually left Louisiana in October, 1768, and returned to Spain. In 1769 O'Reilly was sent out by Spain, and he succeeded in taking formal possession of Louisiana.

¹ The term "Illinois country" was used by the French authorities to designate roughly the Upper Mississippi Valley on both sides of the river, and therefore included what are now Illinois and Missouri. Likewise the Spanish authorities used the term in a similar manner, though they seem occasionally to have applied it to the territory south of the Missouri River and north of the Arkansas. For the sake of clearness, however, the terms, Illinois and Missouri countries, will be used in this book to designate what are now Illinois and Missouri respectively.

² The region in which these five settlements were situated was known after the American Revolution as the "American Bottom."



important connecting link between the settlements that had been established by them along the St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes in the seventeenth century and those that had been more recently established along the Gulf of Mexico and the lower course of the Mississippi.¹ La Salle had recognized the value of having settlements in the Illinois country and had attempted to establish one near the present city of Peoria in 1680, but had failed. It was nearly twenty years after La

¹ Mobile was founded in 1702 and New Orleans in 1718.

Salle's attempt before a permanent settlement was effected in the Illinois country, Cahokia being established in 1699 and Kaskaskia in 1700, both by French missionaries from Quebec. The other settlements were not begun until some time later, Fort Chartres in 1720, St. Philippe in 1723, and Prairie du Rocher in 1733.¹

In time Kaskaskia became the largest and most important of the settlements in this region. This was due largely to its superior natural advantages. It stood on the banks of the Kaskaskia River, about five or six miles above the junction with the Mississippi. Here boatmen found a good harbor which was free from many of the dangers which they encountered along the Mississippi in that region, such as the caving in of banks, the drifting of logs and trees, and the heavy gales. Moreover, the harbor was deep and large enough to enable them to bring their boats near the shore and load and unload without any difficulty. Here also were found excellent facilities for operating mills for grinding grain and sawing lumber. For these reasons Kaskaskia became the center of trade on the Upper Mississippi some time before 1763.²

At the time the Treaty of Paris was made, in 1763, there were about 1000 people living in these five settlements.³

¹ Meanwhile no permanent settlements had as yet been made in Missouri. The explanation for this is doubtless to be found in the more favorable conditions which existed in the Illinois country.

² Kaskaskia continued to be a place of considerable importance for some time after 1763. It was the capital of Illinois from 1812 to 1819, when the territory of Illinois was admitted as a state into the Union. After that the place gradually declined in importance. In recent years the Mississippi River broke through the land and joined the Kaskaskia River where the village of Kaskaskia stood, and carried most of it away. The old church still stands, but it is on an island on the Missouri side of the Mississippi River at present.

³ The white population in these villages in 1763 was as follows: Kaskaskia, 400; Prairie du Rocher, 50; Fort Chartres, 100; St. Philippe, 20; Cahokia, 100 — total, 670. The negro population was 300, thus bringing the total up to nearly 1000.

**3. Character
and Life of
the Settlers**

Most of these people had emigrated from French Canada by way of the Great Lakes and the Illinois River, having been attracted by the opportunities for fur trading offered by the Illinois country. They therefore devoted themselves largely to hunting and trading with the Indians. Most of their commerce in peltries was carried on with Canada instead of with New Orleans, chiefly because the warm climate subjected the pelts to decay; notwithstanding this danger, a good many were from time to time sent down to New Orleans. Agriculture and stock raising were carried on more or less extensively, and considerable quantities of flour, beer, wine, ham, and other provisions were sent down the river to New Orleans. In at least two places, Kaskaskia and Cahokia, there were grain mills.

In each of these settlements there was a Catholic church or chapel, and in at least two there was a local priest to look after the spiritual welfare of the people. Life in these villages was rather free and easy. Some of the settlers married Indian squaws, while others brought their wives with them from Canada. The men were superstitious and ignorant. They were very active and well built physically, and were as well able to endure fatigue and hardship in hunting as were the Indians. Most of them understood the dialects of the neighboring Indians, and many of them affected the manners of these savages.

**4. Govern-
ment**

The government of these settlements prior to 1765 was in the hands of a military officer, called the major commandant, who was appointed by the governor of the Colony of Louisiana at New Orleans. The major commandant had his headquarters at Fort Chartres and had extensive authority, subject, however, to appeal to the Council at New Orleans, not only in criminal but also in civil cases. His control over the Indian trade was said to be so extensive that nobody could be concerned in it except on condition of giving him part of the profits. This, however, has been denied, and it has been asserted

that all of the commandants were men of high character, and that some of them returned to France poorer than they came.

Every person capable of bearing arms was enrolled in the militia, and a captain of the militia and other officers were appointed in each settlement. In three of these settlements, Kaskaskia, Fort Chartres, and Cahokia, forts were used as a means of protection against attacks from the Indians.¹ The captains of the militia in the various settlements had minor judicial power, about equal to that of a justice of the peace in this country to-day.

Meanwhile, a beginning had been made toward settling what is now Missouri. The first two settlements that were attempted, however, failed to become permanent. Indeed, they proved to be very temporary. The first of these was an attempt on the part of some Jesuit missionaries to establish a settlement at the junction of the River des Peres and the Mississippi, which was about six miles south of the original site of St. Louis, but is now included within the limits of the city along its southern border. We have some reason to believe that this settlement was made before Cahokia and Kaskaskia were established on the Illinois side, and in fact it is claimed by some to be the first white settlement attempted on the Mississippi River itself. It is said that the settlers found the site they had selected unhealthful, and that they shortly afterward moved across the Mississippi to a prairie about twenty-five miles above the mouth of the Kaskaskia River. This settlement came to be known as St. Joseph's Prairie from

**Temporary
French
Settlements
in Missouri**

**1. River des
Peres Settlement**

¹ Before 1769, however, the fort at Kaskaskia had been destroyed, having been burned in 1766. Likewise the palisade around the one at Cahokia had been torn down before 1769, making the fort there totally ineffective. Moreover, the fort at Fort Chartres was seriously threatened by the encroachments of the Mississippi River before 1769, and was in fact abandoned in 1772, when one part of the wall fell into the river. From these things it will be seen that the Illinois settlements were woefully lacking in adequate defenses in 1769.

the church which the settlers built there and dedicated to St. Joseph. Later they moved to Kaskaskia, which had meanwhile been established.¹

2. Fort
Orleans

The second of these temporary white settlements in what is now Missouri was called Fort Orleans, and was situated on the Missouri River within the boundaries of either the present Carroll County or Saline County. Early in the eighteenth century the French authorities at Paris and at New Orleans sent men into what is now Illinois and Missouri to search for silver. These men failed to find any silver, but they did a great deal of exploring in these regions. Moreover, the French traders and hunters living in Kaskaskia and other Illinois settlements, which we have seen were established in the late seventeenth and the early eighteenth centuries, soon made their way up the Missouri River on hunting expeditions. All this activity on the part of the French aroused the fears of the Spanish at Santa Fé, and as a result they fitted out an expedition in 1720 to reconnoiter the situation. This expedition is popularly known as the "Great Caravan," and it has long been thought that a large number of soldiers, artisans, and farmers, together with their families and flocks and herds, made up this caravan. But recent investigations seem to make it clear that there were not more than fifty soldiers in the expedition, and while there

(e) "Great
Caravan,"
1720

¹ Some critics reject this story of the River des Peres settlement. They point out that the only authority for it is Moses Austin's Journal, written in 1797, nearly a hundred years later, and declare that in none of the "Relations" of the early missionaries and travelers is any account given of this settlement. The most that they will admit about it is that there may have been a village at the mouth of the River des Peres, which was possibly a winter camp of the Indians, who had a missionary or two with them. But when it was established and how long it lasted, they do not attempt to say.

In Penicaut's Journal he tells of finding in 1700 some Frenchmen at the mouth of the Saline, about six miles below what was later Ste. Genevieve. This is, according to some, the very first that we know of white people within the present limits of Missouri. Perhaps these people were there temporarily to make salt.

may have been camp servants, there were no intending settlers. However that may be, the expedition failed completely, owing to an attack made by hostile Indians, only one man belonging to the ill-fated expedition escaping with his life to relate the story of the disaster.

It has frequently been said that the attempt of the Spanish to establish a post on the Missouri in 1720, notwithstanding this failure, led directly to the founding of Fort Orleans by the French in 1723. There are, however, some reasons for doubting this. It is pointed out that De Bourgmont, who had spent some years trading with the Indians along the Missouri, had been commissioned captain and commandant of the Missouri in 1720, probably at about the same time the expedition of that year met its fate. Moreover, it is known that the instructions given to De Bourgmont concerning the founding of a post on the Missouri River were delivered to him in 1722, before the news of the destruction of the Spanish expedition could possibly have reached France.

(b) De Bourgmont's Expedition, 1722-23

At any rate, we know that the French realized that Spain had claims to the Mississippi and the regions to the west on the basis of the DeSoto expedition of 1542, and that they felt they must exert themselves quickly if they were to supplant the Spanish in this part of the world. We also know that De Bourgmont set sail from France during the summer of 1722 and, proceeding by way of New Orleans and Fort Chartres, finally reached the Missouri River by the spring of 1723, and that by the fall of that year he had erected a palisade on that river, calling it Fort Orleans in honor of the Duke of Orléans.

The exact site of Fort Orleans cannot be determined, but in all probability it was not far above the mouth of Grand River. Some say it was on the south bank of the Missouri, near what is now Malta Bend in Saline County, while others hold it was on the north bank a little above

(c) Site of Fort Orleans

the mouth of Wakenda Creek in Carroll County; still others locate it on an island in the river.¹

(d) Destruction of Fort Orleans, 1726

However that may be, the French did not hold the fort very long. According to one account, it was suddenly attacked by the Indians in 1726, and every person in it was killed and the fort burned to the ground. According to another account, it was abandoned in 1726, not because of an Indian attack, but because the French authorities felt there was no longer any danger of the Spanish attempting to get a foothold on the Missouri, and they therefore allowed the fort to fall into decay.

Ste. Genevieve, First Permanent Settlement in Missouri

The first white settlement that proved to be permanent within the limits of the present State of Missouri was Ste. Genevieve. It was established probably in 1735 by people who had been living in Kaskaskia and who had been operating lead mines which lay about thirty miles west of the Mississippi. Before an account of the founding of Ste. Genevieve is related, something should be said about the mining operations in that vicinity.

1. Early Lead Mining in Missouri

The early settlers in the Illinois country soon learned from the Indians that lead was to be found in the region across the Mississippi River. This region proved to be a section of country about seventy miles long, from the head waters of the St. François River to the Meramec. Rather extravagant accounts of the richness of this district in minerals made their way to France, where they were readily believed. Among others who became interested in these reports was a man named Renault. He secured large mineral grants in this district from the French government in 1723, and sailed with two hundred miners and laborers and everything necessary to carry on mining operations, including bricks for a furnace, on each of which

(e) By Renault

¹ Recently the ruins of an old fort and the remains of French weapons have been unearthed near Malta Bend in Saline County. These finds are taken by some as evidence supporting the claim that Fort Orleans was on the south bank of the Missouri River.

had been stamped his name. On his way to New Orleans he stopped at San Domingo, where he purchased five hundred negroes to be used in his Missouri mines. These were, so far as we know, the first negro slaves in the Missouri country. After reaching New Orleans, Renault ascended the Mississippi River in canoes up to the Illinois



RENAULT'S DIGGINGS

From Stevens' *Missouri, the Center State*, by permission of the Missouri Historical Society.

settlements. He carried on an extensive search for minerals on both sides of the Mississippi, and after twenty years of rather unsuccessful operations, such mines as Mine La Motte, Fourche à Renault, and Mine à Breton were opened up within the limits of the present southeast Missouri.¹

Mining operations were carried on in the Missouri country not only by such men as Renault, who came directly from France, but also by people who lived in the Illinois region. As they found the ore rather near the surface, they had had no great difficulty in mining it.

(b) By
Illinois
French
Settlers

For some time these men from the Illinois country not

¹ Mine La Motte got its name from La Motte Cadillac, who was governor of Louisiana, and who made a trip to Missouri in search of silver. Renault's mines were not on the Meramec itself, but on Renault's Fork (Fourche à Renault) of the Big River, which is a tributary of the Meramec. Renault was the founder of St. Philippe on the Illinois side.

only mined but hunted in what is now southeastern Missouri, at the same time retaining their homes in the Illinois settlements. They would cross the Mississippi for a mining or a hunting expedition and then return home with their lead or game.

Founding
Ste. Gene-
ve, 1735

Finally, some of these miners and hunters from Kaskaskia, who had been mining and hunting in the Missouri country, built a few cabins on the west bank of the Mississippi at a point where they had been accustomed to cross as they passed back and forth on their expeditions. They then took up their residence in these cabins and called their settlement Ste. Genevieve. It went also by the name of "Misère." It is not known just when the first cabins were built, but it is generally thought to have been about 1735. Some have fixed the date rather definitely at 1732. The founders of this place were led to select the site they built upon, not only because it was on their way from Kaskaskia to the lead mines on the Meramec, but also because of the salt springs near by and the excellent bottom lands lying all around. Several persons in the new village soon began to make salt, which they disposed of to Indians, hunters, and other persons in the near-by settlements.

Before Ste. Genevieve was founded, the Illinois miners in the Meramec region had been accustomed to take their lead to Fort Chartres, but after Ste. Genevieve was established, they deposited it at that place. The lead was usually molded in the shape of collars, which were hung upon the necks of the pack horses. Later it was molded into pigs and carted in two-wheeled French carts called *charettes*. The surplus lead which was not needed for local purposes was sent down the Mississippi in boats to New Orleans, and then loaded on ships and sent to France.

Removal
a New
te, 1785-91

The first settlers of Ste. Genevieve built their cabins near the river, just below what was called "The Big Common Field." But fifty years later, owing to the

encroachments of the river, the town was moved to higher ground about three miles up the river. It was in 1780 that the banks of the river began to cave in along the front of the village, and this forced the inhabitants to begin to think of moving. In 1784 some of them built houses on the site of the present town of Ste. Genevieve. The great overflow of the Mississippi in 1785, the year of the "Great Waters," as the French called it, caused many more to leave the old town for the new one; but it was not until 1791 that the original site was completely abandoned. Since then this site has been entirely washed away. After the new town was established, a still greater number of people came from Kaskaskia to take up their residence here.¹

It was nearly thirty years after Ste. Genevieve was founded that St. Louis, the second permanent white settlement in what is now Missouri, was established. In 1762 Maxent, a wealthy merchant of New Orleans, obtained from the French governor of Louisiana a grant giving him the exclusive right to trade with the Indians on the Missouri River for a period of eight years.² Maxent associated with himself a man by the name of Pierre Laclede Ligest, commonly known as Laclede. It seems that the former furnished the money for the enterprise and the latter agreed to conduct it. The firm was known as Maxent, Laclede and Company, or commonly as "The Louisiana Fur Company."

**St. Louis,
the Second
Permanent
Settlement
in Missouri**

**1. Grant to
Maxent,
Laclede and
Company**

¹ Ste. Genevieve never grew to be a large place. By 1800 it had a population of 1792, and since then its population has not varied much from that number. Only once has the population exceeded 2000, and that was in 1850, when it reached 2258. In 1910 it was 1967. Owing to a change in the course of the Mississippi River, the present town of Ste. Genevieve is now three miles west of that river.

² A test case was made in 1765 of this grant conferring the exclusive right to the Indian trade on the Missouri River, and the Supreme Council at New Orleans decided against the company's claims to that right.

1. Selection
of the Site
by Laclède



PIERRE LACLEDE
The founder of St. Louis

From Stevens' *Missouri, the Center State*, by permission of the Missouri Historical Society.

for a settlement which would become the center of the trade operations which his firm was going to carry on with the Indians. He finally decided upon a low bluff a few miles south of the Missouri River. Here the channel of the Mississippi ran near the shore, which made it possible to bring the boats close to the landing. The bank was high enough to give protection from floods, but not so high as to interfere with loading

Preparations having been completed, Laclède left New Orleans on August 3, 1763, and sailed up the Mississippi to Ste. Genevieve, arriving there about three months later, after a very tedious journey. He had under his command a large force of mechanics, trappers, and hunters, and he brought with him a suitable lot of merchandise to trade with the Indians. Finding no accommodations for his stores at Ste. Genevieve, he proceeded farther up the river to Fort Chartres. Here he found a place to store his goods and also a home for his family.

During the month of December, Laclède searched along the west bank of the Mississippi as far north as the Missouri for a suitable place



MADAME CHOUTEAU, WIFE OF
LACLEDE

From Houck's *History of Missouri*.

and unloading the cargoes; and back from the bank was a bench of level ground broad enough for the proposed village. Laclede not only saw these advantages of the place, but also was impressed by its beautiful surroundings. On returning to Fort Chartres he is said to have remarked to Governor De Noyen and his officers: "I have found a situation where I intend establishing a settlement which, in the future, shall become one of the most beautiful cities of the world."

In February, 1764, the river was sufficiently free from ice to enable Laclede to send his stepson, Auguste Chouteau, a boy only thirteen and a half years old, by boat to the chosen site with orders to begin erecting buildings. Chouteau landed there on February 15, and put to work the men and boys who had been sent with him. Laclede came over a little later, leaving his family for the time being at Cahokia. By fall he was able to move his family to St. Louis and to house them in the building which had been erected for him.

The plan of the village, as it was laid out by Laclede, provided for only one street parallel with the river, which he named La Rue Royale or Royal Street. The name was later changed to La Rue Principale or Principal Street, and still later to Main Street, its present name. In the course of the next twenty years two other streets parallel to the first one were laid off and were called La

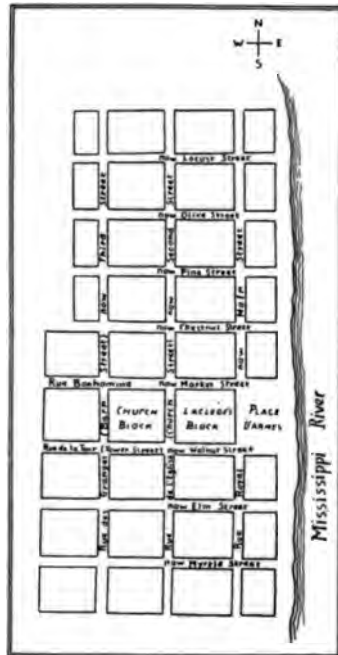
3. Founding of the Village, February 15, 1764



AUGUSTE CHOUTEAU

From Stevens' *Missouri, the Center State*, by permission of the Missouri Historical Society.

4. Plan of the Village



PLAN OF ST. LOUIS, 1764-80¹
Adapted from *Scharf's History of St. Louis.*

Rue de L'Église (Church Street) and La Rue des Granges (Barn Street). They are now known as Second and Third streets. Cross streets running west from the river were also laid off. For a long time the village remained "under the hill," that is, on the first terrace that runs immediately above the bank of the river. It was several years before the town "climbed the hill" just west of Third street.

Laclede selected as the site of his residence a tract or square bounded by what are now called Main, Second, Walnut, and Market streets. The block adjoining his on the east was

called La Place d'Armes (The Place of Arms), and on the block directly to the west was built the first church in the village. From that day to this there has always been a Catholic church building on this block. The building now standing on it is the old cathedral of St. Louis.

There was nothing in the grant that had been given to Maxent, Laclede and Company which authorized them to lay out a settlement or to assign to different persons tracts of land. But Laclede did both of these things, and later the government conferred legal titles to the land upon the people to whom grants had been made by him.

¹ See the map of St. Louis in Chapter XVI for the location of the original village within the limits of the present city of St. Louis.

Laclede named the settlement St. Louis, in honor of France's most noted king, Louis IX, commonly known as St. Louis, who reigned in the thirteenth century. The town was often called in early days "Laclede's Village," in honor of Laclede; it also went by the name of "Pain Court" (short of bread), probably because of the difficulty which the settlers had in raising sufficient food supplies for themselves. The people of Kaskaskia are said to have

5. Names



LACLEDE'S HOUSE IN ST. LOUIS
From Houck's *History of Missouri*.

been responsible for the derisive nicknames which many of the villages in what is now Missouri bore in early times, such as "Pain Court" for St. Louis and "Misère" for Ste. Genevieve.

As far as we know, Ste. Genevieve and St. Louis were the only existing settlements in what is now Missouri when O'Reilly arrived in New Orleans in 1769 to assume the duties of commandant general for the Spanish government over the province of Louisiana, unless the garrison in the fort built in 1767 by that government at the mouth of the Missouri River be called a settlement.

**Spanish
Forts at the
Mouth of
the Missouri
River**

In 1766 the Spanish government sent D'Ulloa to New Orleans to take control of the newly acquired territory, but since he found that he would not be able to get it unless he used force, he declined to do so and finally returned to Spain in 1768. But while in New Orleans he

sent a body of men under Captain Rui up the Mississippi to establish two forts at the mouth of the Missouri, one on the north bank and one on the south. The reason assigned by D'Ulloa for projecting these forts was to keep the English, who were then holding territory on the east side of the Mississippi, from attempting to ascend the Missouri and establishing settlements there. It was later found advisable to erect only one of these forts, the one on the south bank. To this fort was given the rather high-sounding name of "El Principe de Asturias — Senor Don Carlos," in honor of Charles, Prince of the Asturias and heir apparent to the throne of Spain. A block house was, however, built on the north side of the mouth of the river, to which was given the name of "Don Carlos Tercero el Rey," in honor of Charles III, King of Spain. But as the garrison in the fort built on the south side was always small, and as no permanent settlement developed therefrom, we may disregard it in this connection and consider that, as has been said, there were in 1769 only two white settlements in what is now Missouri, namely, Ste. Genevieve and St. Louis.¹

**Conditions
in Missouri,
1765-70**

**1. Emigra-
tion from
French
Illinois Set-
tlements into
Missouri**

But by this time these two settlements had grown considerably, their population numbering between 900 and 1000. The chief cause for this growth had been the emigration of the French from their settlements in the Illinois country. By the time Laclede had begun to establish St. Louis, the French settlers in the Illinois country had heard of the cession of Louisiana that had been made by France to England and Spain. They were

¹ It is frequently stated in the different histories of Missouri that Carondelet was founded in 1767. If that were the case, this place should be included in the account that is being given in this chapter. But, as a matter of fact, nothing had been done by 1769 toward founding the settlement that ultimately came to be known as Carondelet except that in 1767 Delor de Treget had built a stone house near the mouth of the River des Peres. As far as is known, no village had grown up around his residence by 1769. An account of the founding of this village will be given in a subsequent chapter.

considerably disturbed over this, particularly over the cession of territory to England. In all probability Laclede took advantage of this disturbed state of mind of the French settlers in the Illinois country, and doubtless urged them to move to the new village he was going to lay out. It has also been suggested that he advised the French officials at Fort Chartres, who had jurisdiction over not only the Illinois settlements, but also those in the Missouri country, to make St. Louis the seat of government of France for the Missouri region as soon as the English should take possession of the Illinois country. However this may be, it is a fact that as soon as the English officers arrived to assume control of the Illinois country in 1765, the French proceeded to abandon their homes there in large numbers and to move either down to New Orleans or across the Mississippi to the Missouri country.¹

St. Philippe was abandoned by its entire population, excepting the captain of the militia, and it is said that the people of this village actually tore down their homes and carried them across the river to the Missouri country. All the inhabitants of Fort Chartres, except three or four families, moved to Missouri, and many came also from the other settlements in the Illinois country.²

Life in these two villages, Ste. Genevieve and St. Louis, was marked with a good deal of license and laxity of

¹ Comparatively few went to New Orleans. Eighty accompanied the Commandant, De Villiers, to that place in June, 1764, but many of them afterward came back. Most of the Illinois emigrants crossed the Mississippi into the Missouri country.

² Captain Stirling, the English commissioner, who took formal possession of the territory which England had acquired by the Treaty of Paris, wrote in 1765 that he had done all in his power to prevent the French from abandoning their homes in the Illinois country and going to the Missouri side; but since he was not in a condition to send troops to the ferries at Cahokia and Kaskaskia, he could not check their emigration. He furthermore said that unless gentle methods were used, the few that remained would also leave.

2. Life in
the French
Settlements
in Missouri

conduct, if we are to believe a report that was made in 1769 to O'Reilly by Piernas, who had served as commandant on the Missouri prior to O'Reilly's arrival. Religion was said to have been wholly neglected, and everybody did as he pleased. Besides the inhabitants who were settled in the villages, there were many unattached persons who wandered around over the country, spending their time in hunting and in immoral excesses between their hunts. Perhaps conditions were not as bad as Piernas painted them, but we are doubtless safe in concluding that life was far from being orderly or elevating at this time.

3. Arrival of
Piernas in
St. Louis,
1770

After assuming control of affairs at New Orleans, O'Reilly sent Piernas to take charge of the upper portion of the colony. When Piernas arrived in St. Louis in May, 1770, he found St. Ange in charge of matters.¹ St. Ange had been the French governor of Upper Louisiana at the time when France ceded the whole of Louisiana to England and Spain, and had moved in 1765 from Fort Chartres with his garrison to St. Louis when the English officials reached the Illinois country to assume control. It is rather significant that O'Reilly in his instructions to Piernas enjoined him to do all he could to make the domination of Spain loved and respected in the Missouri country.

The population of St. Louis did not increase as rapidly in the next few years after 1770 as it had in the five years previous, inasmuch as the French in the Illinois country had by 1770 recovered from their alarm over the acquisition of that territory by the English, and had stopped their emigration to the Missouri region.

¹ Owing to the numerous grants of lots that St. Ange made to settlers in St. Louis from 1766 to 1770, he has been called the "legal founder of St. Louis."

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CHAPTER II

THE ENGLISH ATTACK UPON ST. LOUIS IN 1780

[*Historical Setting.* — The George Rogers Clark Expedition of 1778-79, and the alliance made in 1778 between France and the revolting English Colonies in America.]

**George
Rogers
Clark
Expedition,
1778-79**

IN 1780 the English made an attack upon the little village of St. Louis, which was at that time under the government of Spain, having been acquired as a part of the territory which had been ceded by France to Spain



GEORGE ROGERS CLARK

**1. Coöpera-
tion of
Spanish
Authorities
at New Or-
leans with
Virginia**

by the Treaty of Fontainebleau in 1762. In order that we may understand what induced the English to make this attack, we must remind ourselves of the George Rogers Clark Expedition in 1778-79, and of the relations between England and Spain at that time.

The Clark Expedition, which had resulted in the capture of the English posts of Kaskaskia and Cahokia in what is now Illinois, and of

Vincennes in what is now Indiana, had been carried out under the authority and with the assistance of Patrick Henry, governor of Virginia. But Governor Henry seems to have had in mind more than one plan of harassing and attacking the English. This is evident from the fact that, even before the Clark Expedition was undertaken,

he had been negotiating with the Spanish governor at New Orleans for assistance against the English. As a result of these negotiations, arms, ammunition, and provisions were sent by the Spanish authorities at New Orleans to the Americans who were living in certain Mississippi River posts and along the frontiers of Virginia and Pennsylvania. Moreover, English vessels along the lower Mississippi were seized and confiscated, on the order of the Spanish governor, with such success that by 1778 the British flag had been completely excluded from that river.

From these facts it will be seen that there was close coöperation between the Spanish authorities in Louisiana and the Americans for some time before Spain declared war against England in 1779. In April of that year she made a treaty of alliance with France against England, and in the following June she issued her formal declaration of war. France had been at war with England about one year at the time when Spain took this step. Judging from the treaty made between France and Spain, one would say that the chief object of Spain in declaring war against England seems to have been to get the territory which the English had acquired from France east of the Mississippi River by the Treaty of Paris in 1763. Shortly after Spain declared war upon England, Galvez, the Spanish governor at New Orleans, took possession of several English posts, among which were Fort Manchac, Baton Rouge, and Natchez on the lower Mississippi, and Mobile and Pensacola in Florida.

Meanwhile, Clark had captured Kaskaskia, Cahokia, and Vincennes. Moreover, he had received active assistance from the French settlers in the Missouri country in the form of food supplies, thus making it easier for him to retain his hold upon the territory which he had captured.

It was, therefore, a very interesting combination of circumstances that led England in 1780 to turn her atten-

2. Declara-
tion of War
by Spain
against Eng
land, 1779

3. Capture
of Illinois
Settlements

CHAPTER II

THE ENGLISH ATTACK UPON ST. LOUIS IN 1780

[*Historical Setting.* — The George Rogers Clark Expedition of 1778–79, and the alliance made in 1778 between France and the revolting English Colonies in America.]

**George
Rogers
Clark
Expedition,
1778–79**

IN 1780 the English made an attack upon the little village of St. Louis, which was at that time under the government of Spain, having been acquired as a part of the territory which had been ceded by France to Spain



GEORGE ROGERS CLARK

**1. Coöpera-
tion of
Spanish
Authorities
at New Or-
leans with
Virginia**

by the Treaty of Fontainebleau in 1762. In order that we may understand what induced the English to make this attack, we must remind ourselves of the George Rogers Clark Expedition in 1778–79, and of the relations between England and Spain at that time.

The Clark Expedition, which had resulted in the capture of the English posts of Kaskaskia and Cahokia in what is now Illinois, and of Vincennes in what is now Indiana, had been carried out under the authority and with the assistance of Patrick Henry, governor of Virginia. But Governor Henry seems to have had in mind more than one plan of harassing and attacking the English. This is evident from the fact that, even before the Clark Expedition was undertaken,

he had been negotiating with the Spanish governor at New Orleans for assistance against the English. As a result of these negotiations, arms, ammunition, and provisions were sent by the Spanish authorities at New Orleans to the Americans who were living in certain Mississippi River posts and along the frontiers of Virginia and Pennsylvania. Moreover, English vessels along the lower Mississippi were seized and confiscated, on the order of the Spanish governor, with such success that by 1778 the British flag had been completely excluded from that river.

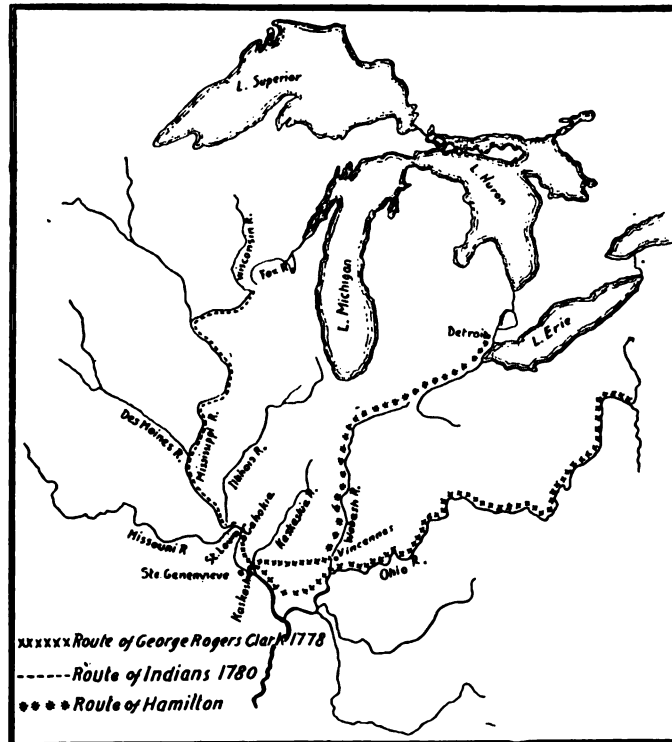
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MAP SHOWING THE ROUTE OF GEORGE ROGERS CLARK (1778) AND THE ROUTE OF THE INDIANS AGAINST ST. LOUIS (1780)

**Plan of
England for
an Expedition
down
the
Mississippi**

tion to the situation along the Mississippi. She had sustained losses at the hands of the Americans under Clark in the Illinois and Indiana regions, and also at the hands of the Spanish under Galvez along the lower Mississippi. Naturally she wanted to recover these losses. Moreover, the territory west of the Mississippi, which was famed for its productive fur trade, from which she had hitherto been cut off, was in the hands of Spain, which had recently joined France in war against her; and finally, this territory was inhabited by French who were friendly to the Americans. England therefore considered the moment as op-

portune to attempt not only the recovery of the places that had been seized by Clark and Galvez east of the Mississippi River, but also the capture of the whole of Spanish Louisiana. Plans accordingly were laid for the seizure of St. Louis and of the Illinois villages, and for a descent upon New Orleans. It is because the attack upon St. Louis in 1780 was a part of this comprehensive scheme of conquest that the event has any historical significance which would justify our giving it attention here.

The English authorities evidently planned to depend very largely upon the Indians for the success of these campaigns, and for this purpose several tribes in the region of the Great Lakes were enlisted in the cause. In May, 1780, a force of almost 950 traders, servants, and Indians, under the leadership of a man named Hesse, set out from the portage of the Fox and Wisconsin rivers for St. Louis, a journey of about 500 miles.¹ They came down the Wisconsin to the Mississippi, and thence down the Mississippi to St. Louis. At the same time the English organized three other expeditions, made up largely of Indians, and sent them from the region of the Great Lakes into what are now Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio.

St. Louis was at the time of the attack a village of about 120 houses, built chiefly of stone, and had a population of about 800, most of whom were French.² The village was in a fairly flourishing condition, owing to the great

**St. Louis
in 1780**

¹ While the Indian forces were being brought together, a boat belonging to Charles Gratiot, a merchant at Cahokia, was captured by a detachment of Indians at Prairie du Chien in March, 1780. There is some ground, however, for suspecting that the cargo was intended as supplies for the Indians and was being gathered for the expedition down the Mississippi and not for trade. At any rate, the Indians were supplied with provisions and ammunition from the pillage of the boat, without which, it has been asserted, the expedition against St. Louis could not have been very well carried out.

² St. Louis was known to the English as Paincourt or Pencour or Pancors, which meant "short of bread." In all of their official documents it is never mentioned by the name of St. Louis.

activity of the fur trade that was centered there. The Spanish garrison contained about fifty men under the command of Captain Fernando de Leyba. Several new villages had been established in the vicinity of St. Louis since it had been founded, among which were St. Charles and Carondelet.

The village of St. Louis was in no condition to defend itself against any well-organized attack.¹ Like practically all the other early French settlements in the Illinois and Missouri regions, it was open and undefended. In this respect these French settlements differed from those which had been made by the Americans in Kentucky and Tennessee, in that the early settlers in Kentucky and Tennessee always regarded the Indians as their enemies, and hence invariably built stockaded posts, while the French made friends of the Indians and left their settlements largely unprotected. But when word was brought to St. Louis the last of March, 1780, by a trader who was going down the Mississippi, that there were rumors of an Indian expedition against the settlements in that region, preparations for defense were begun. When the rumor was confirmed by another traveler from the upper Mississippi region, the post at the mouth of the Missouri was evacuated and the fort blown up, and all the other outposts were called in. A platform or tower was erected at one end of the village of St. Louis, upon which were placed five cannons; in addition, intrenchments were thrown up about the village. Scouts were sent out and cavalymen were stationed around the village as picket guards. A force of 29 regulars and 281 villagers manned the intrenchments during the attack.

The Indians reached the village at about one o'clock on the afternoon of May 26, 1780. They had left their

¹ Soon after this attack the people of St. Louis erected a line of permanent fortifications around the village, and they guarded it faithfully for a long time. The Indians, however, never made another attack upon the place after this one of 1780.

canoes at a place about fourteen miles above St. Louis, where they had divided themselves into two groups, one going down the west bank to St. Louis, the other going down the east bank toward Cahokia.¹ As soon as those advancing down the west bank were seen by the scouts guarding St. Louis, the alarm was sounded,—a man running through the streets crying out “To arms, to arms!” An alarm gun was shot from the tower to warn the men working in the fields and the women and children who were out after strawberries. Many of these were shot by the Indians from ambush as they tried to return to town.

**The Attack,
May 26,
1780**

According to the only detailed contemporaneous report that we have of this engagement, the enemy “began the attack upon the post from the north side, expecting to meet no opposition; but they found themselves unexpectedly repulsed by the militia which guarded it. A vigorous fire was kept up on both sides so that by the service done by the cannon on the tower where the commander (Captain de Leyba) was, the defenders at last succeeded in keeping off a band of villains, who, if they had not opportunely been met by this bold opposition on our part, would not have left a trace of our settlements. There were also to be heard the confusion and

¹ The division going down the east bank was under the leadership of Ducharme, who had joined the expedition possibly in revenge for the treatment that had been accorded him by the Spanish authorities along the upper Mississippi. He was a British subject from Canada and an active Indian trader. About 1772 he had stolen past the Spanish garrison at the mouth of the Missouri River, and pushing up that stream had established himself on what is now called Loutre Island. On being discovered at his illegal traffic, his goods were seized and confiscated, and he barely escaped with his life. For these reasons he was seeking revenge against the Spanish authorities, and accordingly joined this expedition against St. Louis in 1780. In fact, it was believed by some that he instigated the expedition. Ducharme does not seem to have been in the actual attack upon St. Louis, but his party fired their guns across the river and struck the roofs of the houses in the village.

the lamentable cries of the women and children who had been shut up in the house of the commandant, defended by twenty men under the lieutenant of infantry, Don Francisco Cartabona; the dolorous echoes of which seemed to inspire in the besieged an extraordinary valor and spirit, for they urgently demanded to be permitted to make a sally. The enemy at last seeing that their force was useless against such resistance, scattered about over the country, where they found several farmers, who, with their slaves, were occupied in the labors of the field. If these hungry wolves had contented themselves with destroying the crops, if they had killed all the cattle which they could not take with them, this act would have been looked upon as a consequence of war; but when the learned world shall know that this desperate band slaked their thirst in the blood of innocent victims, and sacrificed to their fury all whom they found, cruelly destroying them and committing the greatest atrocities upon some poor people who had no other arms than those of the good faith in which they lived, the English nation from now on may add to its glorious conquests in the present war that of having barbarously inflicted by the hands of these base instruments of cruelty the most bitter torments which tyranny has invented."

As might be expected, there is no agreement in the different reports as to the casualties. According to the Spanish report, from which the above quotation was made, twenty-nine were killed and twenty-four taken prisoners. According to an English report, there were seventy-four persons killed, fifty-three scalped, and thirty-four taken prisoners. And according to another, sixty-eight were killed, forty-three scalped, and eighteen taken prisoners.

A day or two after the attack upon St. Louis an attempt was made by the Indians to take Cahokia, but this likewise failed. Thereupon the Indians returned to their homes in two divisions, one going up the Mississippi, the other across the country to Mackinac.

Three reasons were assigned by Sinclair, the English lieutenant governor, for the failure of this expedition: (1) The treachery of the two interpreters, Calve and Ducharme, who had been put in charge of the companies of Indians, and who failed at the critical moments of the expedition to do their duty. These two men were partners in trade and had been promised by the British agents certain advantages along the Missouri River if they would assist in taking the territory along that river from the Spanish. (2) The lack of secrecy. Word was brought to St. Louis at least two months before the attack that an expedition was preparing. (3) The backwardness of the Canadians who took part in the expedition.

**Causes of
the Failure
of the
Expedition**

Another reason, however, has been assigned for the precipitate retreat of the Indians to their homes, and that is the sudden appearance of George Rogers Clark at Cahokia, just after the attack upon St. Louis. Clark was supposed by the English to be at the Falls of the Ohio at the time of the attack, and hence safely out of the way. As a matter of fact he was not there, but had been for a month at the Iron Banks, five miles below the mouth of the Ohio, where he was engaged in building a fort. He had, however, been advised by the citizens of Cahokia of the impending attack by the Indians, and had set out on May 13 for that place. On his way he received a message from De Leyba urging him to return.

It has frequently been asserted that Clark sent troops to St. Louis to assist in warding off the attack, and that he himself appeared on the scene during the attack. But there seems to be no foundation for these assertions. Even though he did not do what has been said of him, there is good ground for believing that the knowledge that he had arrived unexpectedly at Cahokia had a great deal to do with causing the Indians to withdraw. His name seemed to inspire fear among them. Moreover, he organized a force of 350 men, including regulars, French volunteers from the Illinois post, and Spaniards

in St. Louis, and sent them against the Indians that had retreated up the Mississippi and Illinois rivers. This movement of his insured St. Louis against any further molestation by the Indians for the time at least, and it may be that this is what he had in mind when he said that he had sent 300 men to the relief of St. Louis.

**Signifi-
cance of the
Attack**

From what has been said, it is evident that the attack upon St. Louis is noteworthy, not as a military event, but because it was a part of a very comprehensive scheme on the part of the English to wrest great stretches of territory away from the Americans and the Spaniards. Had this scheme in all of its phases been carried out, the work of Clark in the Illinois and Indiana regions would have gone for naught, and all prospects of the Americans acquiring from England the territory between the Alleghanies and the Mississippi would have been considerably lessened if not completely obliterated. Also, the English would have acquired the territory west of the Mississippi, thus placing the whole of the Mississippi Valley in their hands. That this scheme did not carry is due to the failure of the Indian expedition at St. Louis. It is true that the scheme might subsequently have fallen through, even if St. Louis had been taken in May, 1780, but as to that no one can say.

**Spanish
Expedition
against St.
Joseph,
Mich., 1781**

The attack upon St. Louis by the English was answered the next year by a counter attack by the Spaniards upon an English fort called St. Joseph, on the southeast shore of Lake Michigan. In January, 1781, Cruzat, the Spanish lieutenant governor of Upper Louisiana, organized a military expedition in St. Louis to invade the British possessions lying along the Great Lakes. The force consisted of 66 Spaniards and French and 60 Indians. They marched in midwinter through the wilderness from St. Louis to St. Joseph, and on arriving they plundered the fort and distributed among their Indian allies the supplies that were found there. After remaining at the fort a few days, the expedition returned to St. Louis,

bringing the British flag which had been taken at St. Joseph and delivering it to Cruzat. It should here be said that this capture of St. Joseph was made a basis for claims to territory which Spain demanded in the region of the Great Lakes while negotiations for peace were being made at the close of the American Revolution, in 1783.

A little over a month after the attack upon St. Louis, De Leyba died and was buried in the little church of the village of St. Louis. It is said that he died from poison administered by his own hand on account of dissipation and remorse. It has been the habit of historians to condemn him unreservedly and to heap upon his memory nothing but obloquy. He has been called a traitor and a coward, and is said to have been so drunk at the time of the attack upon St. Louis that he locked himself up in his house and left the villagers to defend themselves as best they could. In recent times, however, he has had his defenders who have sought to recover his reputation and good name. Among them is Louis Houck, who declares in his *History of Missouri* that "the archives of Spain show that he was a man of clear intelligence, business knowledge, and sound judgment. His insight into principles of law and his impartiality in the administration of justice are unmistakable evidences of these qualities. He was on terms of intimacy with George Rogers Clark and omitted nothing in his power to show his attachment to the American cause during the Revolution. As soon as Clark took possession of the Illinois country, he opened up a correspondence with him, and Clark says he was surprised to find him free from the reserve that characterizes the Spaniards."

REFERENCES

Houck, *History of Missouri*, ii, pp. 33-46. James, *Significance of the Attack on St. Louis*, in the Proceedings of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association for 1908-09, pp. 199-217. A special study of the subject with particular relation to the George Rogers Clark expedition.

CHAPTER III

CONDITIONS IN MISSOURI DURING THE SPANISH PERIOD

[*Historical Setting.* — The purchase of Louisiana from France in 1803, with emphasis on the retrocession of Louisiana from Spain to France by the Treaty of San Ildefonso in 1800, and on the negotiations that led up to the purchase in 1803.]

I. THE GROWTH OF SETTLEMENTS

IN a preceding chapter we saw something of the situation in what is now Missouri at the time when Spain acquired it as a part of the territory which France had ceded to her by the Treaty of Fontainebleau in 1762. It is now proposed to bring under review the conditions in this same region at the time when the United States acquired it as part of the Louisiana Purchase from France — that is, in 1803.

**Transfer of
Louisiana
from France
to the
United
States**

After the treaty ceding Louisiana to the United States had been ratified by Congress, the formal transfer of the territory had to be made. But before this could be accomplished, it was necessary for France to acquire actual possession of the territory from Spain. For, in spite of the fact that Spain had by the Treaty of San Ildefonso in 1800 agreed to return Louisiana to France, the actual transfer had not yet been made when France agreed in April, 1803, to sell it to the United States, nor even yet when Congress ratified the treaty in October of that same year. France had had a representative at New Orleans ever since the Treaty of San Ildefonso had been made in 1800, but he did not assume authority over Lower Louisiana until December, 1803. What is more, the formal



THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE

transfer of Upper Louisiana was not made at St. Louis until March 9, 1804, and when it took place an American acted as the agent of the French government. Acting



THE GOVERNMENT HOUSE IN ST. LOUIS IN 1804

This building stood on what is now the corner of Walnut and Main streets. In it the formal transfer of Upper Louisiana from France to the United States took place on March 9, 1804. From Houck's *History of Missouri*.

under orders from Laussat, the French governor general of Louisiana at New Orleans, Captain Amos Stoddard of the American army went from New Orleans to St.

Louis, where he received from De Lassus, the Spanish lieutenant governor, the possession of Upper Louisiana on March 9, 1804, for the government of France. With special ceremony the Spanish flag was lowered and the flag of France was raised in its stead.

But this ceremony was followed on the same day by another which marked the transfer of Upper Louisiana from France to the United States. Captain Stoddard had not only been commissioned to receive this territory



DE LASSUS

The last Spanish governor of Upper Louisiana. From Stevens' *Missouri, the Center State*, by permission of the Missouri Historical Society.

from Spain for France, but had also been authorized to act for the United States and to declare the formal transfer of the same territory from France to the United States. He therefore lowered the French flag shortly after it had been raised, and ran up the American flag in its place.¹ He thereupon assumed the duties of governor of Upper Louisiana for the United States. Former Governor De Lassus then sent proclamations to the different settlements in what is now Missouri, notifying them

of the transfers that had been made.

At the time of the transfer the region that is now Mis-

¹ According to another story by Pierre Choteau, brother of Auguste Choteau, some of the French creoles at St. Louis asked Stoddard to leave the French flag up till the next day, and he granted the request. A guard of honor was then formed by the French and was set around it to watch all night. On the next day, March 10, the French flag was taken down and the American flag raised.

souri had a population of 10,000 as compared with 1000 in 1769, when, as we have seen, Spain assumed control of Louisiana. This tenfold increase was due in great part to migration from the regions east of the Mississippi, which poured into the Missouri country in two different streams, one coming from the French settlements in the Illinois country and the other coming from the American settlements that had more recently been established in Kentucky and Tennessee.

The causes for this immigration into the Missouri country may be summarized as follows :

1. The disorder that prevailed from 1778 to 1790 in the settlements in the Illinois country. This had been brought on largely by the misrule of the Virginia commonwealth in this region. It will be recalled that in 1778 George Rogers Clark had made his expedition into the Illinois country under the authority of the governor of Virginia. After he had conquered this territory, it was established as the county of Illinois and made a part of Virginia. The French settlers in this region had welcomed Clark and had aided him in every possible way, and for a few months they had enjoyed peace under his mild rule. But it was not long before they had occasion to regret his coming, and for ten years thereafter they were subjected to conditions that were almost intolerable. For one thing, Clark's frontier soldiers soon found themselves in great need, and they began foraging upon the French settlers at will. Moreover, the civil government that Virginia established in the country proved to be inefficient and was shortly replaced by a military rule that was oppressive. The French settlers also found themselves the victims of worthless continental currency and of American land speculators who had followed Clark into this country. The situation did not improve even after Virginia discontinued her authority in this region in 1782. In fact, there was no legalized government there from 1782 to 1790, and anarchy very generally prevailed.

**Causes of
Immigration
to Missouri
1769-1804**

**1. Disorder
in the Illinois
Country,
1778-90**

**(a) Virginia
Misrule**

Under such circumstances as have briefly been outlined, it is not at all surprising to find that very shortly after Clark came to the Illinois country the French settlers began to move across to the "Spanish bank," as the region west of the Mississippi River was then called, and that they continued to go in a rather steady stream for ten years or more. Among the emigrants were some of the most important and progressive of the French inhabitants. As a result of this emigration, some of the Illinois villages came very nearly being depopulated. The loss sustained by Kaskaskia was very large. In 1778 there were about 500 people living there. By 1790 the town had been reduced to about 250.¹

(b) Peace
between
England and
the United
States

Meanwhile, peace was made between England and the United States in 1783, whereby the United States came into the undisputed ownership of the territory between the Mississippi River and the Alleghany Mountains. This had, however, no reassuring effect upon the early settlers in the "American Bottom," as the region of the French settlements in the Illinois country now came to be called. These settlers had been somewhat buoyed up during the few troublous years of the Virginia rule by the hope that either France or England would regain this territory; and when these hopes had failed them, they saw no prospect of matters becoming better. The migration from the Illinois to the Missouri country therefore continued for several years after peace was declared with England, at least until the nineties of that century.

2. North-
west Ordi-
nance, 1787

2. The Northwest Ordinance of 1787. This ordinance prohibited slavery in the region north of the Ohio River and south of the Great Lakes. The effect of this prohibition, as far as what is now Missouri is concerned, was to drive many people who were living in the Northwest

¹ Notwithstanding the hardships which the French settlers endured at the hands of the Virginia officials, they never bore any ill will against Clark. They liked him personally and responded to all his calls upon them for assistance up to the time he left in 1780.

Territory into Missouri, and to deflect into this country the population that had been flowing from Kentucky into the territory north of the Ohio. As yet, however, most of the emigrants who came to Missouri because of the Northwest Ordinance were French from the Illinois country or from the "American Bottom."

3. The special inducements offered by the Spanish government to new settlers. For several years after the close of the American Revolution Spanish authorities carried on intrigues with certain Americans in the Kentucky and Tennessee regions, looking toward the breaking up of the newly formed American union and the attachment of those western regions to Spain. A stop was put to all this intriguing, however, by the treaty made between the United States and Spain in 1795.

Grant
3. Spanish Offers to Settlers

Failing in her plans for withdrawing the Kentucky and Tennessee regions from the Union, and fearing an invasion of Louisiana by the English from Canada, Spain now inaugurated a scheme to draw settlers from the United States into Louisiana by offering them extraordinary inducements. Lands were granted freely to all settlers, the only expense being the fees for surveying and registration. It has been estimated that a farm of 800 acres could be obtained for \$41 plus the fees of the surveyor and registration officials. To make it all the easier for the prospective settler, Spain arranged that he might obtain possession of his grant at once and pay these obligations later.

(a) Free Grants of Land

It has been stated that the Spaniards made no discrimination between Catholics and Protestants in making these grants, and that men of all religious sects were welcomed and given full religious freedom. There is good ground, however, for doubting these propositions. The king of Spain desired only Catholics in the territory west of the Mississippi, and the governor general at New Orleans always rigidly enforced the orders of Spain, which excluded Protestants. The governor of Upper

(b) Laxness in the Enforcement of Religious Restrictions

Louisiana sometimes winked at the coming of Protestants, but usually under certain conditions.

According to certain instructions issued by Gayoso, commandant general in 1798, liberty of conscience was not to be extended beyond the first generation. This meant that the children of the immigrants must be baptized according to the Catholic form. Immigrants who would not agree to this were not to be admitted, but were to be removed, even though they might have brought their personal property with them. Moreover, it was expressly recommended to the commandants by these instructions that no preacher of any religion but the Catholic should come into the province. And yet, notwithstanding these instructions, considerable religious toleration actually existed. The regulation requiring the children to be baptized as Catholics was not enforced, and the examinations that were given to the immigrants were not closely observed. Hence, many Baptists and other Protestants settled in the province and remained undisturbed in their religious principles. They held no public religious meetings, however, and had no ministers of the gospel among them. All marriage rites were performed by Catholic priests, and it is probable that if any one had attempted to administer the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's Supper according to the Protestant confession, he would have been sent to prison for it.

Notwithstanding these religious restrictions, the easy terms on which the grants of land were offered and the prospects of finding lead on these lands, induced many people to leave their homes east of the Mississippi and to come into what is now Missouri. It was during this period of Spanish rule that Americans began to appear in the Missouri country, but it was not until the late nineties that they began to come in large numbers. Probably the first American settler in Missouri came to St. Louis in 1770.

4. The purchase of Louisiana in 1803. This had a decided effect upon the American immigration into what

is now Missouri. Men who had hesitated to come into this country because of their objection to foreign rule found that objection removed when the United States purchased Louisiana.

4. Purchase of Louisiana, 1803

But at the time of the transfer of Louisiana to the United States, in 1804, the population of what is now Missouri had, as has already been stated, risen to 10,000, more than half of whom were Americans. It should be noted here that though Spain had had control of Louisiana for nearly thirty-five years prior to its purchase by the United States, very few Spaniards settled in the province, especially within the limits of the present State of Missouri. The population of the Missouri country was of French descent almost exclusively until the close of the eighteenth century, when, as we have seen, the Americans began to come in such numbers as to predominate in 1804.

Predominance of Americans in Missouri by 1804

By 1810 the population had grown to be 20,845, or twice what it had been in 1804. This increase was primarily due to further American immigration.

At the time when the population of what is now Missouri numbered only 900 or 1000, there were only two settlements, Ste. Genevieve and St. Louis. But during the period of Spanish rule, when the population ran up to 10,000, several new settlements were established, concerning which a brief account should now be given. It will be most convenient to consider them according to the five districts into which the Spanish authorities had grouped them, commencing at the north and passing to the south.

Growth of Settlements in Missouri during the Spanish Period

1. The northernmost district was called St. Charles. It included all the territory lying between the Missouri and the Mississippi rivers. Its oldest settlement was St. Charles, which was founded about 1780 on the north bank of the Missouri, twenty miles above its mouth. The founder was Louis Blanchette, commonly known as Blanchette le Chasseur (Blanchette, the hunter), a native of the Province of Quebec, Canada.

1. St. Charles District

(a) St. Charles

that ran for about a mile parallel to the river. Up to the time of the purchase of Louisiana the population was almost entirely French-Canadian and never amounted to more than one hundred families. The villagers cultivated two common fields that lay adjoining the village, but they were interested chiefly in hunting and fur trading, and the place remained for a long time the headquarters of the fur trading industry along the Missouri River.

There were at least two other French settlements in this district, Portage des Sioux and La Charette. Portage des Sioux ^{(b) Portage des Sioux} ¹ was situated on the Mississippi at the point on the tongue of land which lies between this river and the Missouri where the two rivers approach each other most nearly before they join a few miles farther down. It was established by the Spanish authorities in 1799 as an offset to a settlement which they thought the Americans were going to establish near the mouth of the Missouri on the Illinois side. A man by the name of Saucier, who was living at St. Charles, was requested by the Spanish authorities to form this settlement of Portage des Sioux, and was urged to do all he could to draw the French settlers from the Illinois country. Saucier was a native of Fort Chartres and was well known in that part of the country, and he succeeded in inducing many of his Illinois friends to move to the new settlement. Like St. Charles, Portage des Sioux contained very few Americans prior to the purchase of Louisiana.

La Charette was situated on the Missouri River fifty miles from St. Charles. It did not amount to much during the period now under consideration, and as late as ^{(c) La Charette}

¹ Portage des Sioux got its name from the fact that the Sioux Indians, during a war with the Missouris, evaded the latter, who were waiting for them in ambush at the mouth of the Missouri, by crossing the Mississippi where the town now stands. They then carried their canoes over to the Missouri River and escaped with their spoils.

1804 it had only seven very poor families. It is now known as Marthasville.

(d) Settlements along the Creeks of the District

The Americans who lived in this district at the time of the Louisiana Purchase did not reside in villages as a rule, but in scattered and detached farmsteads along the Cuivre River and the Dardenne and Perruque creeks, which flowed into the Mississippi, and along La Charette



ST. LOUIS IN COLONIAL DAYS

From Stevens' *Missouri, the Center State*, by permission of the Missouri Historical Society.

and Femme Osage creeks, which were tributaries to the Missouri. They were most numerous along the Dardenne.¹

2. St. Louis District

(e) St. Louis

2. St. Louis District embraced all the territory between the Missouri River on the north and the Meramec on the south, and extended indefinitely to the west. The oldest and largest settlement in this district was St. Louis, which, as we have seen, was founded in 1764. Its growth had been rather slow at first. By 1804 it had come to be a place of about 1000. It contained at that time 171 buildings, 33 of which were of stone, 131 of posts and logs, and 7 of posts and stone.

¹ The Boones lived along the Femme Osage and La Charette creeks. An account of them will be given in the latter part of this chapter.

Besides St. Louis there were several other settlements in this district by 1804. Some of them were distinctively French in character, such as Carondelet, Florissant, Crève Cœur, and Point Labadie. Carondelet had been founded by Delor de Treget of Ste. Genevieve, who in 1767 made a trip with his wife up the Mississippi. Charmed with the beauty of the country near the mouth of the River des Peres, he decided to settle near there. He therefore obtained a grant from St. Ange and built his stone house at what is now the foot of Elwood Street, St. Louis. In time there sprang up around his house a village which was first called Delor's Village, and which, after several changes in name, finally came to be known as Carondelet, after the last Spanish governor general of Louisiana. It was nicknamed Vide Poche (Empty Pocket) by the people of St. Louis. It grew slowly at first, and for a number of years contained not more than twenty families. By 1804 it had only 50 houses and 250 people. This village was near, if not on, the exact site of the River des Peres settlement which the Jesuits are said to have attempted early in the eighteenth century, concerning which something was said in a former chapter. Carondelet is now incorporated as a part of the city of St. Louis.

(b) Caron-
delet

Florissant was next to the largest of the settlements in the St. Louis District in 1804, containing at that time 60 houses and about 300 people. The date of its settlement is not definitely known, but it was probably 1785. The place was about twelve miles northwest of St. Louis, on a tributary of the Missouri called Cold Water Creek, opposite which was a large prairie noted for its luxuriant growth of wild flowers. This probably affords the explanation for its name, Florissant, which is an abbreviation for the longer name San Fernando de Florissant.

(c) Floris-
sant

Crève Cœur and Point Labadie were small French settlements farther up the Missouri. For the name Crève Cœur, which means "broken heart," two explanations have been offered: one is that, after the overflow of the

(d) Crève
Cœur and
Point
Labadie

Missouri in 1796, there was much sickness and many people died, the survivors abandoning the place broken-hearted; the other is that the loneliness was so oppressive to the wife of Alex Bellissime, one of the settlers, that when asked about her new home she replied, "C'est un vrai crève cœur." — "It is a real heart-breaker."

) Settle-
ments along
the Meramec

By 1804 a goodly number of Americans had settled in the St. Louis District, but most of them had made their way farther westward and southward than the French had gone, and instead of settling in villages they had located on homesteads along the Meramec River and along the creeks that were tributaries to the Missouri and Meramec rivers.

Ste. Gene-
eive
istrict

3. Ste. Genevieve District lay between the Meramec River on the north and Apple Creek on the south. Its most important place, Ste. Genevieve, was, as we have already seen, the first permanent white settlement established in what is now Missouri. It will be recalled that the town had been moved from its original site and had been established on higher ground three miles farther up the Mississippi River. By 1803 several other settlements had been founded in this district, the areas of settlement being the land lying along the Mississippi River and in the valleys of the St. François and Big rivers to the west. Some of the settlements along the Mississippi River were established by the French and some by the Americans, the most important American settlements being on Apple Creek to the south and on the Meramec to the north. As in the other districts, the French in this one gathered for the most part in villages, and the Americans took to detached farms.

) New
ourbon

One of the most interesting of the settlements established in the district during this period was called New Bourbon. It was situated on the Mississippi River two and one half miles from the site of old Ste. Genevieve, and was projected by a group of men, one of whom was the father of De Lassus, the last Spanish commandant of Upper Louisi-

ana, for the purpose of bringing to it a number of French royalist families who had settled at Gallipolis on the Ohio River in what is now Ohio. These royalists had become dissatisfied with their lot in that place, and it is thought that they had been induced to move to this new settlement in the Ste. Genevieve District. When the matter was laid before Governor Carondelet in New Orleans, in 1793, he immediately sanctioned it and authorized the establishing of the settlement. However, only a very few came from Gallipolis, but the village grew in time to have a population of more than 100. It has since disappeared altogether.

In the valleys of the St. François and Big rivers, settlements were formed by Americans who were interested in mining and in farming. Although the French carried on mining operations in these valleys from very early days, they do not seem to have established any permanent settlements there until late in the eighteenth century. Up to that time they retained their residences in Ste. Genevieve or in the villages in the Illinois country, and merely camped at their mines during the mining season. (b) Mine à Breton

The best known, if not the most important, of the American settlements in this part of the district was called Mine à Breton or Burton, near the present Potosi. There seems to have been a continuous settlement at this place from the time lead was discovered there by Francis Azor dit Breton in 1775, but it was not until Moses Austin obtained a grant of one league square near the Azor mine that the place attained any prominence. Austin was a pewter manufacturer in Richmond, Virginia. His business led him to become interested in mineralogy, especially lead mining. He left Richmond and moved to Wythe County, Virginia, where he operated lead mines during the Revolutionary War. While here he heard of the lead mines in what is now Missouri, and thereupon made a visit to the mines of Ste. Genevieve in 1796, coming on horseback all the way. After receiving a grant of land,

he returned to Virginia and brought his family to Mine à Breton in 1798. Here he sank the first shaft ever sunk

according to European practices in Upper Louisiana. The settlement grew rather rapidly at once, and the population was large enough to withstand an attack of Indians in 1799.

Settlements were also begun in the St. François Valley at what are now Farmington and Fredericktown. Farmington was known at first as Murphy's Settlement, from a man by that name who came from Tennessee in 1798. Frederick-



MOSES AUSTIN

(c) Farmington and Fredericktown

town at first was called St. Michael's, and was begun in 1800. Contrary to the rule concerning the settlements in this valley, Fredericktown was a purely French settlement at first, instead of American.

(d) Ste. Genevieve, the Most Populous District in 1804

The population of this district did not increase very rapidly up to 1799, but in the next five years it grew from 1156 to 2870. As a result Ste. Genevieve was in 1804 the most prosperous of all the five districts in what is now Missouri, having almost 100 more than St. Louis District. The marked increase in the population of this district in the five years prior to 1804 was due to the fact that most of the French who left the Illinois District went as a rule to Ste. Genevieve District, and did not scatter out into the other districts to any very great extent. It should also be observed that in all the outlying regions of this district the American and English-speaking element of the population had become predominant.

4. Cape Girardeau District was bounded on the north by Apple Creek and on the south, until 1802, by Tywap-

pity Bottom. In that year this boundary was fixed at a line running east and west four or five miles south of the present town of Commerce, Scott County.

4. Cape
Girardeau
District

Before any settlement was made in this district, the name of Cape Girardeau, which was spelled Girardot or Girardo, was applied to the region along the bend in the Mississippi north of the present town of Cape Girardeau. It is conjectured that the name was derived from a man named Girardot, who was an ensign in the French troops at Kaskaskia early in the eighteenth century. It is supposed that he moved from Kaskaskia to the beautifully wooded promontory on the west side of the Mississippi above the present town of Cape Girardeau, and traded there with the Indians. Because of this fact the river men who passed up and down the river gave the name Girardeau to this promontory.

The first permanent white settlement established in this district was Cape Girardeau. To Louis Lorimier belongs the honor of having founded this place. Before coming to what is now Missouri, he had been an Indian trader, first in Ohio, then at Vincennes, Indiana.¹ By 1787 he was in the Ste. Genevieve District engaged in the Indian trade, having brought with him at the instance of the Spanish officials a band of Delawares and Shawnees among whom he had unbounded influence. The Spaniards wanted them as a protection against the Osages,

(a) Cape
Girardeau

¹ During the American Revolution Lorimier was a fiery Tory and is known to have had a direct hand in some of the Indian forays against the American settlements in western Pennsylvania and in Kentucky. He was the leader of the Indian expedition against Boonesborough in 1778, which resulted in the capture of Daniel Boone and his family. After the Revolution was over, he shared with the English and the Indians in their chagrin and disappointment over the outcome, and doubtless had a part in urging the Indians to deeds of violence against the Americans. He was a natural leader among the Indians; his wife was the daughter of a Shawnee chief, and it is thought he had been adopted by his wife's people and made a chief himself.

who were less civilized than the Indians to the east of the Mississippi. A few years later Lorimier moved to the present site of Cape Girardeau, and in 1795 he received from Governor Carondelet grants which authorized him to establish himself with his Indians on any unoccupied territory on the west bank of the Mississippi River from the Missouri to the Arkansas. He was also given the right to hunt and to cultivate the soil. As he had already found what is now Cape Girardeau to be a suitable locality, he established the post there and became its commander. The place was never regularly laid out as a village or town by Lorimier; in fact it remained during all the Spanish period a mere Indian trading post.

(b) Amer-
icans in the
Majority

By 1804 there were about twelve hundred people in this district in scattered settlements along the Mississippi and along the Whitewater River to the west. The Americans were greatly in the majority, having begun to come in large numbers about 1797. Most of these Americans came from Tennessee and North Carolina, and many of them were of German or German-Swiss extraction.

5. New
Madrid
District

5. New Madrid District lay south of Cape Girardeau District, extending as far south as the mouth of St. François River — the present Helena, Arkansas.¹

(c) L'Anse à
la Graise

The first settlement in this district was on the bend of the Mississippi where the town of New Madrid now stands. This bend was called L'Anse à la Graise (a cove of fat or grease). Several explanations have been offered for this name, the most plausible of which was the abundance of game, especially bears and buffaloes, in that region. Canadian hunters and fur traders made this bend their headquarters about 1780, and in six or seven years a few people had permanently settled there. Among them were Francis and Joseph Le Sieur, who may be considered as the real founders of New Madrid.

¹ When the New Madrid District was first formed by the Spanish government, it included what was afterward known as Cape Girardeau District, which was at that time without any settlement.

In 1789 efforts were made by Colonel George Morgan of Virginia to found an American colony at L'Anse à la Graise or New Madrid, and elaborate plans were drawn up for a town of considerable magnitude. Morgan had made frequent trips to the region between the Alleghanies and the Mississippi and was therefore well acquainted with conditions in the West. He had suffered some reverses of fortune and thought he saw an opportunity to recover his losses by establishing a colony on the west side of the Mississippi, near the mouth of the Ohio. He therefore entered into negotiations with Gardóqui, the Spanish ambassador to the United States, and was promised support in all his plans. He was assured he would obtain a grant of nearly 15,000,000 acres of land extending along the Mississippi for 300 miles from the mouth of the St. François River to what is now Perry County, Missouri. Certain conditions which the Spanish government was to observe were laid down by him, among which were guarantees of the right of local self-government on the part of the settlers, and exemption from practically all taxation. He was then authorized by Gardóqui to go at once and examine the territory that was to be granted to him and to advertise his project among the people of the West whom he should meet on his way thither. He got together a large company of men and made his way down the Ohio, and on reaching its mouth on February 14, 1789, crossed over to the west side of the Mississippi. After making a trip to St. Louis under great difficulties to deliver to the Spanish commandant there a letter from the Spanish ambassador regarding his project, he returned to his men and proceeded to lay out the new town he was going to establish at L'Anse à la Graise. The town was to be four miles long and two miles wide, with broad streets and with parks and lots reserved for public purposes. One city lot of one half acre and one outlying lot of five acres were to be offered as a free gift to each of the first six hundred settlers that

(b) Morgan's
Colonization
Scheme

came to this new place. Cabins and a magazine for provisions were erected, gardens were laid out, and preparations were made for putting one hundred acres under cultivation at once. Sufficient land for 350 families was to be platted into farms of 320 acres each for prospective settlers. Such liberal terms were granted to those who should come that it was expected a thousand families would settle in the colony annually for some time to come.

But Morgan's plans were doomed never to be realized. It was necessary for him to get the approval of Miro, the Spanish governor of Louisiana, who resided at New Orleans; but this was denied him because of certain schemes in which Miro and Wilkinson of the United States army were interested. Both of them were deep in the Spanish intrigues to dismember the American Union, mention of which has already been made, and they realized that Morgan's plans would work contrary to their schemes and interests. It is also claimed that Miro feared that too many Protestants would thus be brought into the Spanish territory. For these reasons he refused to give his approval, and Morgan's plans collapsed.

(c) Founding
of New
Madrid

Though Morgan was compelled to abandon his efforts to establish a colony at New Madrid, many of those who had come with him remained, and the extensive advertising he had done drew a great many other Americans to the place in spite of his failure. It should also be borne in mind that shortly after this Spain began making her extraordinary offers to prospective emigrants to come to what is now Missouri. Morgan's campaign of publicity served to interest a great many people in these Spanish offers when they were made. By 1799 New Madrid had become a gateway to all commerce between the Gulf of Mexico and the region between the Alleghany Mountains and the Mississippi, and by 1804 the district had a population of 1500, most of whom were in the town of New Madrid.

In this district the settlements were established for the most part along the Mississippi River. Below New Madrid was the village of Little Prairie, now called Caruthersville, which had been founded in 1790 by Francis Le Sieur. Many people moved to it from New Madrid. The place remained prosperous until the earthquake of 1811. A few settlements were established in the uplands about fifteen miles west of the Mississippi, the most important of which was Portageville. Its name is derived from the fact that it stood about midway on the portage between the St. François and Mississippi rivers.

(d) Caruthersville and Portageville

By 1803 the Americans considerably outnumbered the French in this district, one estimate being that they constituted two thirds of the entire population of the district. Contrary to the usual rule, the Americans settled in the French villages instead of on isolated farms.

From this survey we see that by 1804 the areas of settlement in what is now Missouri were, first, the banks of the Mississippi from New Madrid to St. Louis, and of the Missouri for about forty or fifty miles up from its mouth; second, the back country, which consisted of the uplands just west of the Mississippi and of the valleys of the rivers still farther to the west, such as the lower Meramec, the Big, the Whitewater, and the St. François.

Areas of Settlement in Missouri in 1804

For the most part the French settlers gathered in villages in the first of these areas. The most important villages, St. Charles, St. Louis, Ste. Genevieve, Cape Girardeau, and New Madrid, were predominantly French except Cape Girardeau, which almost from the very first was an American settlement. While the American settlers sometimes took up their residence in villages in this first area of settlement, either by themselves or with the French, they generally lived out on scattered and isolated farms; and while some of these American settlements were along the Mississippi and the Missouri, most of them

Distribution of French and American Settlers

were in the back country, that is, the second of the above mentioned areas of settlement.¹

2. POLITICAL AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS

Government of Louisiana

1. Governor General and Cabildo

While Spain had control of Louisiana, that colony was under the administration of a governor general, appointed by the king, and of a council called the Cabildo. The governor general and the council resided at New Orleans. The colony was divided for purposes of local administration into two provinces, called Lower and Upper Louisiana, the mouth of the St. François River being the point through which the line dividing the two provinces passed. What is now Missouri was a part of the Upper province.

2. Officials of Upper Louisiana

For Upper Louisiana there was a lieutenant governor who resided at St. Louis. He was appointed by the governor general at New Orleans and was subordinate to him. Under the lieutenant governor and appointed by him were commandants of the various military posts throughout the province. The commandant of New Madrid was, however, exempt from the authority of the lieutenant governor. The commandants in turn ap-

¹ The population by districts in 1804 was as follows:

| | <i>Whites</i> | <i>Slaves</i> | <i>Total</i> |
|--------------------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|
| St. Charles | 1400 | 150 | 1550 |
| St. Louis | 2280 | 500 | 2780 |
| Ste. Genevieve | 2350 | 520 | 2870 |
| Cape Girardeau | 1470 | 180 | 1650 |
| New Madrid | 1350 | 150 | 1500 |
| | <u>8850</u> | <u>1500</u> | <u>10,350</u> |

The census of De Lassus in 1799 was as follows:

| | | | |
|-----------------------------|-----|--------------------------|--------------|
| St. Louis | 925 | St. Andre | 393 |
| Carondelet | 184 | Ste. Genevieve | 949 |
| St. Charles | 875 | New Bourbon | 560 |
| St. Ferdinand | 376 | New Madrid | 282 |
| Marais des Liards | 376 | Cape Girardeau | 521 |
| Meramec | 115 | Little Meadows | 49 |
| | | | <u>6,028</u> |

pointed the syndics for the remote settlements of their districts and the dependencies of the posts. The syndics and most of the commandants received no pay for their services. This sometimes proved a heavy burden upon the commandants because of the free entertainments to



THE CABILDO OF NEW ORLEANS

In this building the governor general and the council of the Province of Louisiana had their offices during the Spanish period.

the Indians and others which they occasionally had to furnish.

In the administration of laws the process was very simple and direct. Cases that fell within the jurisdiction of the commandants were quickly tried by them or by the syndics who acted for them. After hearing the statements of both parties to a suit, the commandant or the syndic would give his decision, which was usually accepted as final. However, an appeal might be taken to the lieutenant governor and from him to the governor general, but this was seldom done. Often not more than four days would elapse between the beginning of a suit and the execution of the decree of the commandant or syndic.

3. Adminis-
tration of
Laws

In criminal matters either the lieutenant governor would go to the place where the crime was committed and try the case, or the commandant would try it, his decision, however, being subject to an appeal to the lieutenant governor, and from him to the governor general. The law also provided for still further appeals, the last tribunal being the Council of the Indies in Spain, but it was seldom that appeals of any sort were taken.

In addition to these judicial functions the commandant exercised extensive administrative and military authority. He maintained peace and order, examined passports, which every traveler was compelled to have, passed upon requests of prospective settlers for permission to take up their residence in the district, and punished slaves. He had the rank and military duties of captain.

Superior to the local commandant and the syndic was the lieutenant governor. His power was very great. He was commander of the garrison of Spanish soldiers that had been sent into the province and of the local militia; he was the chief judicial officer and as such could hear most of the cases when they were tried the first time, or could entertain appeals from the decisions of commandants; he issued decrees or laws regulating all sorts of matters in the province; he made grants of land out of the royal domain; he ordered and conducted judicial sales; and he controlled the public affairs of the province without the interference of any one. Of course in all these matters he was subordinate either to the governor general or to the intendant, who had authority regarding land grants.

**4. Lack of
Popular Gov-
ernment**

Except in very unimportant local matters the people had no voice in the government. There were no juries, no elected officials, no legislature for the province or councils for the districts or villages. However, no one seems to have offered any objection to this way of doing. Both the French and American settlers seemed to like

it, perhaps because the lieutenant governor used his extraordinary powers mildly. He might, it is true, take property away from one person and give it to another without any judicial process, as he actually did in the case of a woman of St. Louis who refused to keep up the common field fence in front of her lot ; but he generally acted arbitrarily only when there was real cause for it. The lieutenant governors were men of good character and sought to govern to the best interest of the people, though it was admitted that some were guilty of land speculations and fraudulent land grants. Generally speaking, the people were law-abiding at this time ; there was little crime, and there were but few land suits. When crime was committed it was punished very severely. Seditious language, slander and libel, and stealing of horses were dealt with in a particularly rigorous way.

The French, as we have seen, were accustomed to living in villages. They built their houses along one street,

**Life among
the French
Settlers**



AMOUREAUX HOUSE

One of the typical French houses in Missouri during the Spanish period. Note the front and rear porches running the entire width of the house. From Houck's *History of Missouri*.

as a rule, though sometimes the village would have two or three streets. While some of the houses were of stone, they were generally built of hewn logs set up on end in the ground or upon plates laid upon a foundation wall, the space between the logs being filled with stone, clay, or mortar. They were rarely over one story high and

1. Houses

were usually wider than they were deep, with porches running along the whole length of the front and the rear. The roof over these porches was a continuation of the roof over the house proper. The houses were usually whitewashed on the outside, and on the ridge of the roof a cross was often placed.

The houses of the well-to-do had a chimney in the middle dividing the dwelling into two rooms, each of which had its own large fireplace. One of these served as parlor, dining room, and principal bedroom, and the other as kitchen. From each of these two main divisions a room was often partitioned off for use as a private bedroom. Sometimes the houses had spacious halls running through the center from the front to the back, and large chimneys at the two ends. The chimneys were generally made by planting four posts so that they would tend to converge toward the top, making the opening at the top almost half as large as at the hearth. The spaces between the posts were filled with rock and mortar. Sometimes, however, the wealthier people used stone in constructing their chimneys.

In some cases, especially when servants were a part of the household, the kitchen was in a detached building several feet away from the main house; but whether the kitchen was in the main house or in a detached building, the cooking was done in a fireplace. Some of the houses had no garrets, but in case they did have, the garrets were reached by means of ladders and were lighted by dormer windows or by windows at the gable ends.

The floors were sometimes made of well-joined planks, but generally they were made of puncheons, that is, logs that had been hewed and joined together. Usually there was a window of eight or ten panes of glass in each room. These windows were hinged so as to open like doors, and were protected on the outside with heavy wooden shutters which could be closed when there was danger of an attack from the Indians.

When one is reminded that all the timber used during this period in the construction of houses in what is now Missouri was prepared by hand, one will realize what a task it must have been to erect a house with even the poorest of accommodations. Moreover, all the nails were made by hand, so that most of the timbers had to be



GRATIOT'S HOUSE

Another typical French house in Missouri during the Spanish period. Note that the logs are placed in an upright position.

mortised and fastened together with wooden pegs. The furniture in these houses was very simple, consisting of beds, looking-glasses, a table or two, and a few chairs.

Inasmuch as the houses always stood near the street, the front yards were very small, but the back yards were unusually large. Here were to be found the barns, outbuildings, and quarters for the negro or Indian slaves. The yards were inclosed with fences built of pickets that were driven into the ground. Beyond the back yards were the vegetable and flower gardens and the orchards, which were also inclosed with picket fences.

Agriculture was the chief occupation of the villagers. Their farms lay in one or two great common fields adjoining or near the village. New Madrid is the only village, among the more important ones at least, that

2. Farms
(a) Common
Fields

did not have such a field. Each common field was divided into farm lots which were much deeper than they were wide. In St. Louis the lots were one arpent wide and forty deep, an arpent being a little more than 190 feet. As a rule these lots lay parallel to each other, thus having a common front. Some of the fields were of considerable size, that at Ste. Genevieve containing 3000 acres. The whole field was inclosed by a common fence, and each villager was required to keep up his part. The common fence was under the jurisdiction of the syndic of the place and a committee of umpires. These umpires inspected the fence in January of each year and reported to the syndic when it needed repairing. It was necessary to build fences that were proof against cattle breaking through.

) Com-
mons

In addition to the common field in which the lots were the individual property of the villagers, there was usually a tract of land adjacent to each village which was known as the "commons" and which belonged to the villagers collectively. This land was inclosed by the settlers and used by them as common pasture for their stock, and from it they gathered their firewood. The "commons" was sometimes quite extensive, that at St. Charles amounting to 14,000 arpents.¹

) Agricul-
ral Imple-
ments

The agricultural implements used by these villagers were very crude. Plows were made entirely of wood, save a single iron fastening. Hoes, spades, mattocks, and rakes were heavy and clumsy. As a usual thing each village owned a harrow or two which were used in common. Owing to the primitive implements and the unscientific methods of cultivation employed, the crop returns were very light, but the prices that crops brought were good.

¹ The arpent was used for both surface and linear measurement among the French. As a unit of surface measurement, it varied from $\frac{1}{2}$ to $\frac{3}{4}$ of an English acre. It is still used in the state of Louisiana and the province of Quebec.

The carts or *charettes* were very odd-looking affairs. They were made of two pieces of scantling, ten or twelve feet long, framed together at one end by two or more cross pieces; upon this end the body of wicker was placed, and the whole was adjusted to the axletree of the two solid wooden wheels sawed from the cross section of a large tree, about four feet in diameter and four inches thick. The projecting ends of the scantling served as shafts. This sort of cart was used for transportation of all kinds. Laclède used one in moving his family from Cahokia to St. Louis in 1764. Inasmuch as the wheels of these carts had no iron tires, the American settlers spoke of them as "barefooted carts."

Though agriculture was the chief occupation of the settlers in these French villages, every one engaged more or less in hunting and in trading in furs. Many were accustomed to go out annually on long expeditions far up the Mississippi and the Missouri, either on their own account or as employees of others. The most valuable furs were often purchased from the Indians with trinkets of various sorts — knives, awls, hatchets, kettles, gay red blankets, and the like. Often the forest trader forsook civilized life almost altogether and allied himself in marriage with some one of the Indian tribes, becoming as much of a savage as the Indians themselves.

3. Trading
in Furs

Distant markets were generally reached by boats running up and down the Mississippi or the Ohio. Boats coming up the Mississippi were usually propelled by oars, and when the wind was favorable a sail was hoisted. But sometimes they were towed up the river by men walking along the bank and pulling a rope fastened to the top of the mast and to the bow of the boat. The labor necessary to get a boat up the Mississippi is almost inconceivable at this day. Of course, going down the river was very easy. As a rule the trip down was made in flatboats which, after the cargo was disposed of, were broken up and the timber in them sold. The crews,

if they returned, would come by land as best they could.

4. Industries In some of the villages there were stonemasons, blacksmiths, gunsmiths, and cabinetmakers. Spinning and weaving were domestic industries. The merchants of that time kept no open shops, but stored their merchandise away in chests in their homes and opened these up to prospective purchasers as they were called upon.

5. Dress The dress of the French settlers was plain and simple. The men wore a blanket coat of coarse cloth with a cape behind, which could be thrown over the head. Both men and women wore blue handkerchiefs over their heads instead of hats. They also wore moccasins or Indian sandals on their feet. The women followed the fashions of New Orleans and Paris in so far as they could, and hence appeared neater than the men. But the men seem to have been provided with proper and neat dress for church and ballroom.

6. Manners Though the French settlers were living largely in isolation from the world, they maintained in their manners and customs many of the traits and characteristics of the nation from which they were descended. They were noted for their courtesy and politeness, their fondness for amusement, their happy dispositions, their hospitality and democracy of spirit, their honesty and punctuality in meeting their obligations, their freedom from anxiety, and their peacefulness and abhorrence of crime. Their chief amusements were card playing, billiards, and dancing. At the balls all classes met and mingled in perfect equality, and the strictest decorum was observed. These balls were generally held on Sundays after church services.

7. Education and Religion Private schools were maintained in many of the villages in connection with the village churches, and some sort of elementary instruction was offered.

The French settlers were Catholic in religion and gave considerable attention to religious festivals and pro-

cessions. The Christmas holidays were celebrated with especially attractive ceremonies.

The American settlers, as we have seen, preferred as a rule to live not in villages, but on isolated farm homesteads. Their dwellings were somewhat unlike those of the French. They were usually double cabins, that is, the house was composed of two distinct log pens or rooms with an open space about the size of each of the rooms between them. This open space between the rooms was used as a passageway. The logs in the walls were laid horizontally upon each other to the height of eight or ten feet instead of being placed on end, as was frequently done in the French houses. The spaces between the logs were filled with clay.

A single roof covered the two rooms and the open space between. Sometimes it was extended over the walls of the rooms so as to form a shed or porch in the front and rear. The roof was made by placing logs upon rafters and fastening them by means of wooden pins and notches and then laying clapboards four or five feet long on these logs. As the clapboards were not nailed to the logs, they were held in place by having three or four heavy logs laid upon them and fastened down at the end with withes. One or two doors were cut into the rooms and a few small openings were left for light and air; these were sometimes glazed. The floors were puncheons. Each room had a broad fireplace made either of wood and clay or of rock. One room served as the kitchen and the other as the living room. In case the family owned slaves, another room or pen was built a few feet back of the open space between the other two rooms, and this was used as the kitchen. The slaves lived in separate cabins back of the house of their master.

Though the American settlers raised a good deal of corn and wheat and turned out a large number of cattle upon the range, they spent much of their time in hunting and trading in furs.

**Life of the
American
Settlers**

1. Houses

2. Occupa-
tions

The American settlers were far from being as cultured and refined as the French, and though by the year 1804 they were numerically stronger than the French, their isolation had prevented them from taking the lead. What is now Missouri was therefore largely French in character when the United States acquired it.

**Daniel
Boone**

**1. Early
Life**



DANIEL BOONE

By far the most notable and the most picturesque character among the Americans who had settled in what is now Missouri prior to 1804 was Daniel Boone. He was descended from a family that had emigrated from England to Pennsylvania in 1717. Here Daniel was born in 1732. When he was eighteen years old his father moved his family of eleven children to western North Carolina, following rather leisurely one of the valleys of the Alleghany Mountains which runs from Pennsylvania to western North Carolina, along which numerous other emigrants also were traveling.

Here Daniel married and began the rearing of a family.

**2. In Ken-
tucky**

It was not long, however, before game became scarce in that part of North Carolina, owing to the increasing population; and to satisfy his own mastering passion for hunting and his desire to live the life of a frontiersman, Boone in company with several others began in 1769 to hunt and explore the Kentucky region. After several years of adventure, he established Boonesborough in 1775. Before long he found that Kentucky was becoming "too crowded" to suit him. Moreover, he lost the lands that he had acquired in that region through some defect of title, due to his carelessness in failing to observe the legal forms of entry.

He finally migrated to Missouri and took up his abode in the Femme Osage settlement, which had been established two years previously by his son, Daniel Morgan ^{3. In Missouri}



BOONE'S CABIN IN MISSOURI

Boone, near the Missouri River, about twenty miles above St. Charles. The next year Boone was appointed syndic of the settlement by Governor De Lassus, and for four years he served in this capacity. He was not learned in



NATHAN BOONE'S HOUSE

In this house Daniel Boone died in 1820. It is still standing, three miles north of Marthasville, Missouri.

the law, but he had a strong sense of justice, and through the fairness of his decisions he won at once the approbation of his neighbors. He is said to have resorted to methods that were primitive and arbitrary: he frequently used whipping as the penalty for infractions of law; he did not trouble himself about the rules of evidence, but sought to get at the facts in the case by the most direct method possible.

Boone's unfortunate experience with Kentucky lands was repeated in Missouri. He had been granted 10,000



NATHAN BOONE

One of Daniel Boone's sons. From Houck's *History of Missouri*.

acres by Governor De Lassus in return for bringing into Upper Louisiana one hundred and fifty families from Virginia and Kentucky, but the grant was never confirmed because he failed to get it properly certified. Later, however, Congress granted him 1000 acres as a mark of recognition for his public services.

He died in 1820 at the home of his son, Nathan Boone, three miles north of La Charette, now known as Marthasville, in Warren

County, where he had spent most of the time in his last years. Nathan Boone's house was a two-story stone building, the first of its kind in Missouri, and is still standing. Here visitors from all parts of the country came to see Daniel Boone and hear from him the thrilling story of the pioneer's life in the New West.

His body was moved from Missouri to Frankfort, Kentucky, in 1845; but his grave there remained unmarked until 1880, when a monument was erected over it.

4. Death

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TYPE OF THE ROBIDOU HOUSE

In which the first newspaper was published in 1808.

CHAPTER IV

INDIAN TROUBLES IN MISSOURI DURING THE WAR OF 1812

[*Historical Setting.* — The War of 1812.]

DURING the War of 1812 the settlers in what is now Missouri were greatly troubled by Indian attacks, many of which were inspired by the British, with whom the Americans were at war. Inasmuch as these attacks had considerable influence upon the development of Missouri, they may well be considered briefly in this chapter.

When the War of 1812 broke out, there were several Indian tribes living within the present boundaries of Missouri. Among them the most important were the Osages, the Sacs and Foxes, the Missouris, the Shawnees, and the Delawares. The Osages were the most numerous, there being about eight thousand of them in that region in 1819.

They lived south of the Missouri River, chiefly along the Osage, a tributary of the Missouri. They were noted for their athletic physique, their sobriety, and their warlike disposition. They were feared by both Indians and whites. We have seen in a former chapter that as a means of protection against them the



A SHAWNEE INDIAN

From Stevens' *Missouri, the Center State*, by permission of the Missouri Historical Society.

Indian
Tribes in
Missouri in
1812

1. South of
the Missouri
River



INDIAN TROUBLES DURING THE WAR OF 1812 67

Spanish government in the latter part of the eighteenth century had authorized Lorimier to bring in a band of Shawnees and Delawares and settle them on Apple Creek and other small tributaries of the Mississippi, near Cape Girardeau. These Indians, however, did not render the protection that had been expected, and the Osages continued to trouble the whites as before. By 1812 the Shawnees and Delawares were to be found along the Whitewater River as well as along the Mississippi.

North of the Missouri River were the Sacs and Foxes and the Missouris. The Missouris were located near the mouth of the Grand River, a tributary of the Missouri. They were later dispersed by the Sacs and Foxes, who held the territory between the Missouri and the Mississippi as far north as the headwaters of the Des Moines and the Iowa rivers. It is customary to speak of the Sacs and Foxes together because of the thorough and complete consolidation of these tribes.

By the time the War of 1812 began, the population of what is now Missouri had grown to be about 20,000, having doubled since the purchase of Louisiana from France in 1803. But the area of settlement had not been extended very much. Most of the newcomers during the interval between the purchase of Louisiana and the breaking out of the War of 1812 had settled in the territory that had already been occupied, that is, along the Mississippi and the Missouri from New Madrid up to St. Charles, or had pushed out to the west from this region only a few miles. Some, however, had undertaken to establish themselves in isolated places farther up the Mississippi and the Missouri. A few had gone up the Mississippi to Cuivre River in what is now Lincoln County, and others had gone as far north as the present Hannibal. On the Missouri a few men attempted to establish themselves still farther up, in what was called Boone's Lick country. The name Boone's Lick was applied to the

2. North of the Missouri River

Growth of Settlements 1803-12

1. Doubling of Population

2. Extension of Area of Settlement

territory in and around the present Howard County. It arose from the fact that in 1807 two sons of Daniel Boone had made salt at a salt spring, or lick, in what is now Howard County, and had brought back to their friends in the older settlements an account of the fine agricultural country in that vicinity. The first attempt to establish a settlement in this country was made by Benjamin Cooper in 1808. He was compelled, however, to abandon the effort for the time being, because the right to the territory had not been acquired from the Indians at that time. Nevertheless, by 1812 there were several hundred settlers in the Boone's Lick country. During the war, however, immigration to this region was completely stopped because of the Indian hostilities, and many of the settlers who had already established themselves there abandoned their claims and took up their abode in the more thickly settled regions.

**Indian
Warfare**

**1. Activity
of the
Indians East
of the Mis-
sissippi
River**

The greatest danger to which Missourians who had settled along the Mississippi River were exposed during the war came from the Indians living east of that river, who had been stirred up by English agents. In fact, these agents had been active in stirring up the Indians even before the war broke out. Roving bands of savages who had been furnished with arms by these English agents had crossed the Mississippi and engaged in horse stealing and other marauding. After the war was declared, the Sacs and Foxes who lived along the Rock River in Illinois were induced to make war against the settlers in Missouri, and throughout the war they proved the most troublesome of all the Indians engaged in it. Fortunately the English were not able to enlist the Indians west of the Mississippi as they had those to the east of it. If they had succeeded in getting the Indians on both sides of the river to join in a combined attack, all the new frontier settlements in Missouri would have been completely wiped out and great loss would also have been inflicted on the older settlements.



INDIAN TROUBLES DURING THE WAR OF 1812 69

The situation, however, was very serious and called forth energetic efforts on the part of the territorial governor of Missouri. The militia was ordered out, and forts and stations were established and garrisoned. Patrols were placed along the Mississippi and the Missouri rivers and in the more exposed districts. A volunteer force of about 1400 men was sent up the Mississippi under General Howard in September, 1813, to attack the Illinois Sacs and Foxes, who were giving the most trouble. He was unable to bring them into open battle, but he burned several of their villages and destroyed many of their stores of corn, and thus put a check upon their attacks.

2. Militia Expeditions under General Howard and General Dodge

The situation became so serious in the Boone's Lick country, because of the frequent Indian raids, that General Henry Dodge, who was in command of the militia of the territory, was ordered in September, 1814, to take a body of 350 mounted rangers and go to the relief of the settlers in that region. With Dodge's command there were forty or fifty of the friendly Shawnees and Delawares from the Cape Girardeau District. On reaching what is now Saline County, Dodge was able, through his Indian allies, to locate the hostile Miamis and shortly afterward to effect their capture. The Miamis, 153 in all, surrendered, and were promised that their lives should be spared.



GENERAL HENRY DODGE
From Houck's *History of Missouri*.

At no time during the war did the Indians take the warpath in great numbers. They always went in small roving bands and slipped upon unsuspecting settlers in their homes. As the militia could not be everywhere to

3. Erection of Forts

ward off the attacks by these bands, the settlers were compelled to build forts and thus protect themselves, particularly in the more remote settlements. Some of these forts were built near what is now Hannibal and in what are now St. Charles, Lincoln, Howard, and Cole counties.

These forts in most instances were merely strong log houses with a projecting upper story and with loopholes through which the muskets and rifles of those inside were fired. In the large settlements, however, they were stockades which inclosed several cabins or houses. Into these places of defense the settlers would flee when they heard of an Indian attack, and remain until the enemy had departed. It was not often that the Indians undertook to take a fort, and when they did attempt it, they generally failed. They usually plundered the abandoned cabins and drove off the horses. The settlers who were killed during these raids were those who either were unable to get into the forts during an attack or who took risks in pursuing the Indians.

**Treaties of
Peace with
the Indians**

After two years of this sort of warfare, which kept the settlers in an almost continuous state of anxiety and fear, peace was finally made between England and the United States in December, 1814. At that time there were 1200 or 1500 Indian warriors along Rock River and Des Moines River who were still on the warpath; and it has been asserted that even after the news of peace had reached this country, they were yet being secretly urged by the English agents to continue their depredations. However that may have been, peace with the Indians was ultimately secured at a conference held at Portage des Sioux in the St. Charles District in June, 1815.

At this conference former treaties which had been made with different tribes regarding the cession of Indian lands were ratified. One of these treaties had been made with

the Sacs and Foxes in 1804, according to which they had ceded, among other lands, the territory bounded on two sides by the Missouri and the Mississippi and on the third side by a line drawn from the mouth of the Gasconade River to the river Jeffron or Salt River, thirty miles above its mouth, and then down that river to its junction with the Mississippi. The district thus ceded included what are now Marion, Ralls, Pike, Lincoln, St. Charles, Warren, and Montgomery counties, and portions of Audrain and Monroe counties. It was later claimed by the Sacs and Foxes that this treaty had been made by their chiefs without authority, and this was one of the principal causes of the ill feeling that existed between these tribes and the Americans during the War of 1812. The treaty of 1804, however, was ratified at the close of the war. It was not, however, until 1823 that the Sacs and Foxes completed their cessions of territory in Missouri.¹

1. Ratification of Cessions of Lands by the Sacs and Foxes

Another of the treaties ratified in 1815 was the one made in 1808 with the Osages. By this treaty they had agreed to cede to the United States all the land between the Missouri and Mississippi rivers, and the line running from Fort Osage on the Missouri due south to the Arkansas River and thence down that river to the Mississippi. They also ceded by this treaty whatever claims they had to territory north of the Missouri River. By a subsequent treaty, in 1823, the Osages gave up their right to the lands which they had claimed in the western part of

2. Cessions by the Osages

¹ Apparently the treaty of 1804 was confirmed in 1815 by the Foxes and by only those Sacs who resided on the Des Moines River. It was subsequently confirmed by the Sacs on Rock River in 1816. In 1823 the Sacs and Foxes ceded all their rights to the territory north of the Missouri between the Mississippi and the Missouri rivers, and a line on the west running from the mouth of Kansas River north for 100 miles. In 1830 they ceded all their claims to that portion of the territory that was added to the State in 1836, commonly known as the Platte Purchase. This purchase included Platte, Buchanan, Andrew, Holt, Nodaway, and Atchison counties.

the State. These lands included the territory within the limits of the present Jackson, Cass, Bates, Vernon, Jasper, Newton, and McDonald counties.

**Extinction
of Indian
Titles in
Missouri**

At the same time at which the Osages made their last cession, the Kansas Indians likewise ceded whatever lands they claimed in Missouri. Other cessions were made later by other Indians, such as the Kickapoos, the Iowas, the Shawnees, and the Delawares, so that by 1833 the title of the Indians to lands in Missouri — amounting to over 39,000,000 acres — was completely extinguished.

**Munitions
of War from
Missouri in
the War of
1812**

This chapter should not be brought to a close without some mention being made of another part that Missouri played in the War of 1812. It was from Missouri that large quantities of munitions of war were obtained for the armies of the United States in this war. The lead industry in Missouri was an old one when this war broke out and had had much to do with the early development of Missouri. But just prior to the beginning of the war a big improvement was made in the manufacture of bullets in Missouri, which made the lead industry very important in that war. Heretofore, the making of bullets in Missouri had been by the hand mold process, and hence the output was limited. But about 1809 John Nicholas Maclot, a political exile from France, made his way to the lead regions of Missouri and discovered that Herculaneum offered certain facilities for the erection of a shot tower. Just below the town was a high and overhanging cliff, and he saw that about all that was needed was to erect on the edge of this cliff a place where the lead could be melted and then dropped into some sort of receptacle at the base. He immediately acted upon his discovery and, after erecting a tower, advertised that he was ready to manufacture buckshot and bullets at a reasonable price. It was from this shot tower that ammunition was sent in large quantities to the armies of the United States in the War of 1812, and the victory of New Orleans in



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1815 is said to have been won with the bullets that had been manufactured there.

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OLD FORT AND STOCKADE

CHAPTER V

CONDITIONS IN MISSOURI DURING THE TERRITORIAL PERIOD

[*Historical Setting.* — The Missouri Compromise.]

**Increase in
Population
in Missouri
by 1820**

THE Indian troubles that Missouri experienced during the War of 1812 came to an end through the ratification of various treaties with the different Indian tribes in 1815, as we have just seen in the preceding chapter. With peace once more established the growth of Missouri was resumed, and within six years she was admitted into the Union as the twenty-fourth state. Inasmuch as it is a matter of interest and importance to know what conditions prevailed in Missouri on the eve of her admission into the Union, this chapter will be devoted to that topic.

Notwithstanding the distress that was incident to the War of 1812, there had been an actual increase in the population of the territory of Missouri during the period of that conflict. The population was 20,845 in 1810, and in 1814 it was more than 25,000. But this increase is nothing as compared to that which occurred during the five years following the close of the war. By 1820 the population had grown to more than 66,000, an increase of 150 per cent.

**1. Immigra-
tion from
Virginia,
Kentucky,
and Other
States**

Most of the people who settled in what is now Missouri during the five years from 1815 to 1820 came from Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, and the Carolinas. Kentucky and Tennessee were by this time becoming populated at least to the extent that good lands were no longer to be had cheaply; hence, many migrated from there to Missouri, where land could be obtained at a low price and

in large amounts. At one time it was reported that on an average about 500 people crossed the Mississippi to St. Louis every day, and that most of these newcomers brought slaves with them. Of course, the rapid influx of people into Missouri had its effect on the price of land. One man, writing in January, 1815, said that while land could yet be bought very cheaply, the price was fast rising. He had bought some land three years previously at ten cents an acre, and had recently been offered eight dollars an acre for it. Town lots in Franklin, Howard County, had in one year gone up from \$50 to \$600. It is not to be supposed that land everywhere in Missouri had risen in value to that degree, but what was true in the cases just cited was doubtless true in many others at that time.

Many of the new immigrants to Missouri stopped in those portions of the territory that had already been settled, but most of them went either up the Missouri to Boone's Lick and even farther, or up the Mississippi toward what is now Hannibal.¹ Of the 66,000 or more people in the Missouri Territory in 1820, fully 20,000 were to be found in the counties along the Missouri above St. Charles and St. Louis counties, and fully 10,000 were to be found in the counties along the Mississippi north of the mouth of the Missouri, including St. Charles, Lincoln, and Pike counties.

2. Growth of
Frontier
Settlements
in Missouri

Some of these new settlements in the interior had phenomenal growth. Franklin, for example, was founded on the Missouri River opposite Boonville in 1817, and within one year it contained 150 houses. By 1820 it was the second place in the territory in importance, having a population of more than 1000. Unfortunately, however, it was situated on low bottom land, and within ten years it had been washed away completely by the Missouri River; but with its disappearance Boonville, which had

¹ At least two roads had been opened up to the Boone's Lick country, one from St. Charles to Franklin and the other from Potosi.

been founded in 1819 and which had grown very slowly at first, began to develop rapidly. Chariton was another interior town that grew up quickly. It was established in 1818 and within a year's time contained 50 houses and 500 people.

During the five years intervening between 1815 and 1820, settlements were made in every one of the present counties lying on both sides of the Missouri River as far up as Ray and Lafayette. Moreover, a few settlers made their way into the southwestern part of the State, coming up the White River from Arkansas and settling in the neighborhood of what is now Springfield. As was natural, St. Louis shared in this rapid development that was going on throughout the territory. It had come to be the commercial center of what is now Missouri very shortly after it was founded, and has retained that position ever since. Its population had increased from 1000 in 1804 to 5000 in 1820, and although the American element had become strong and numerous, the place had not altogether lost its French character by 1820. The old French families were still the leaders in business and in society, and like the present city of Montreal in Canada, both French and English were heard on the streets of St. Louis to about the same extent.

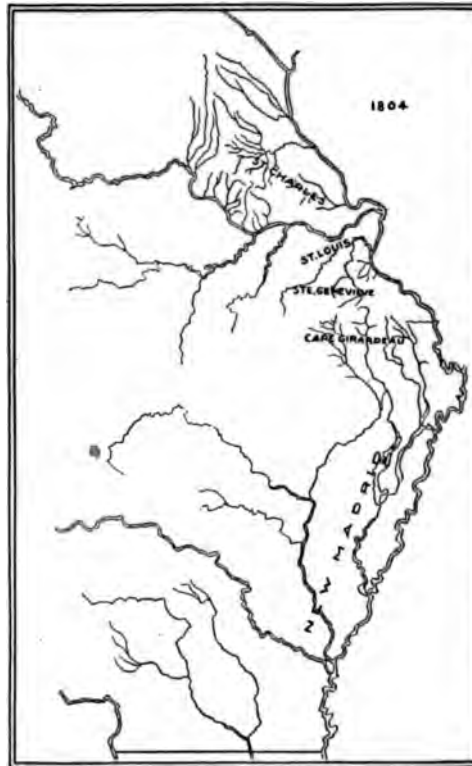
3. Decline in
Population
of New
Madrid
District

There was only one part of the territory that decreased in its population during the territorial period, and that was the region around New Madrid. This was due to the earthquake that occurred in 1811. The land there was always more or less swampy and did not attract farmers very strongly. After a time the game was killed off and the Indians moved away, thus bringing about a decrease in the Indian traffic. Already dissatisfied with the country, the people were not slow in abandoning it by the hundreds after the earthquake. Of the 200 families that, prior to the catastrophe, lived at Little Prairie, now Caruthersville, only two remained. The region most violently affected by the earthquake was

about thirty miles square, including what are now New Madrid and Pemiscot counties, from the towns of New Madrid to Little Prairie. Certain parts of this affected district have never fully recovered from the disaster. In recent years, however, something has been done toward reclaiming the swamps of southeastern Missouri, and there is promise now of good returns in the near future from these efforts.¹

As was natural, this increase in population that we have been noting — especially between 1815 and 1820 — led to the formation of new counties. In 1804 there

were just five districts in Upper Louisiana; namely, St. Charles, St. Louis, Ste. Genevieve, Cape Girardeau, and New Madrid. They stretched along the Mississippi with



DISTRICT OF LOUISIANA, 1804

Showing the five districts (later called counties) into which it was divided. Reproduced by permission of the Political Science Department of the University of Missouri.

**Formation
of New
Counties,
1804-20**

¹ Congress was appealed to in behalf of the New Madrid sufferers and passed an act in 1816 extending liberal relief. The landowners whose lands were damaged by the earthquake were permitted to give up their holdings and to take in exchange an equal amount of government land anywhere else. "This opened a wide door and

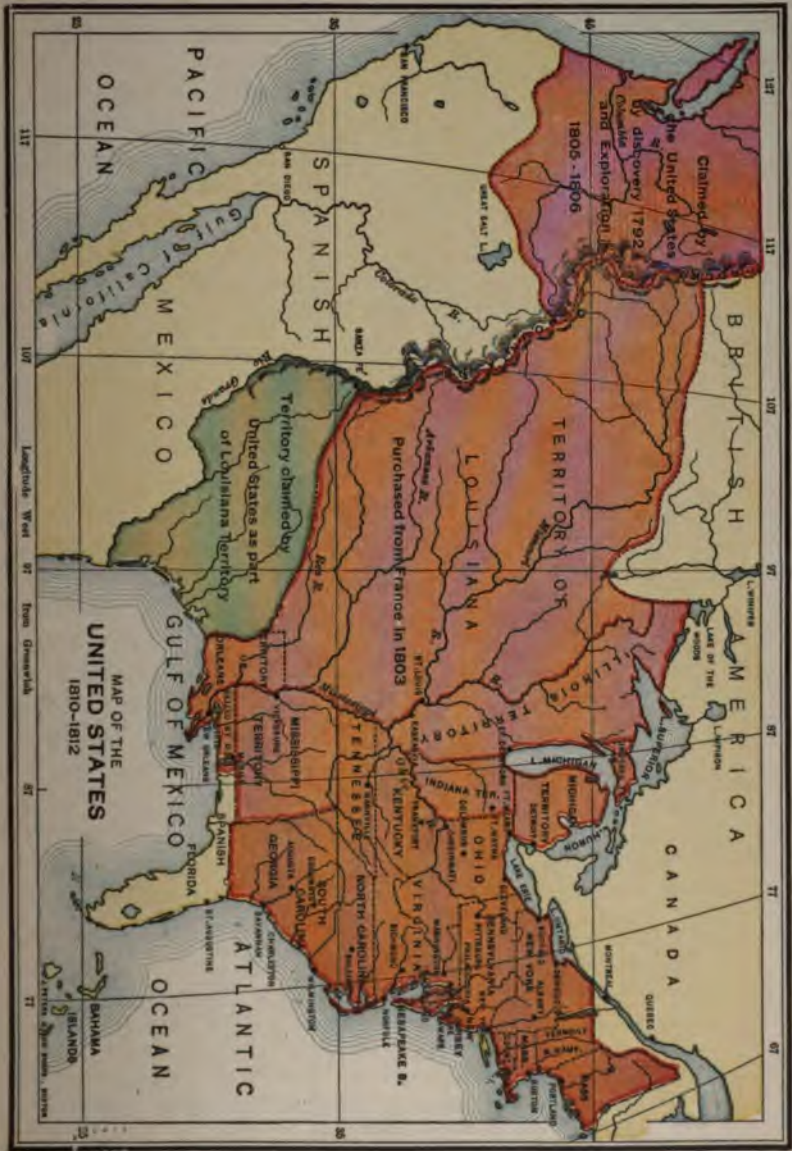


TERRITORY OF MISSOURI, 1813

Showing the seven counties into which it was divided. Reproduced by permission of the Political Science Department of the University of Missouri.

no definite boundaries to the west. No change was made in this arrangement until 1812, when the five districts were by proclamation of the territorial governor reorganized into five counties. Later in the same year that portion of Ste. Genevieve County around what was called Mine à Breton, now Potosi, was set apart by the territorial legislature as Washington County. In 1813 what is now the state of Arkansas was nominally a part of New Madrid County. In 1815 Lawrence County was created out of New Madrid County, and in 1816 all the territory north of the Osage River was erected into

Howard County, including what had been parts of St. Louis brought on speculation and litigation. The actual sufferers were in nearly every instance defrauded." Before they could find out that Congress had provided this means of relief for them, they were besieged with land speculators who bought up the injured lands for a trifle and proceeded to exchange them for valuable government lands elsewhere. When the more unscrupulous and dishonest New Madrid settlers discovered what was going on, they sold some claims several times to different speculators, and,



and St. Charles counties. The Boone's Lick country lay within the borders of Howard County in 1816.¹ Because of the fact that thirty-one counties were later carved out of the original Howard County, she has borne the name of "Mother of Counties."

In 1818 Lawrence County was abolished and eight new counties were established as follows: Wayne out of Cape Girardeau and Lawrence; Franklin out of St. Louis; Pike, Montgomery, and Lincoln out of St. Charles; Jefferson out of St. Louis and Ste. Genevieve; Madison out of Ste. Genevieve and Cape Girardeau; Cooper out of How-



TERRITORY OF MISSOURI, 1816

Showing nine counties. Reproduced by permission of the Political Science Department of the University of Missouri.

ard.² In 1820 Callaway, Boone, Chariton, and Ray were of course, this brought on litigation. Under the New Madrid certificates which were issued by the St. Louis land office to the owners of land injured by the earthquake, much valuable land was taken up in the Boone's Lick territory and near St. Louis and even around Chicago.

¹ In 1916 Howard County appropriately celebrated in a very elaborate way the one hundredth anniversary of her founding.

² At the same time Arkansas County was divided into four counties, Pulaski, Clark, Hempstead, and Arkansas.

created out of Howard; Lillard, Saline, and Cole out of Cooper; Gasconade out of Franklin; Ralls out of Pike; and Perry out of Ste. Genevieve.



TERRITORY OF MISSOURI, JAN. 1, 1819

Showing twenty-two counties. On March 2, 1819, the Territory of Arkansas was created by Congress, thus cutting off the lower counties of the Territory of Missouri as shown in this map. Reproduced by permission of the Political Science Department of the University of Missouri.

Meanwhile the territory of Arkansas had been organized in 1819 by cutting off that portion of the Missouri territory that comprises the present states of Arkansas and Oklahoma.

It will be noted from this summary that at the time Missouri was admitted into the Union in 1821 there were twenty-five counties in the State, and by consulting the maps in this chapter one will see that these counties were strung along the Mississippi and the Missouri in the shape of a rough letter T,— a double tier of counties along the Mississippi, and a row of them along each side of the Missouri up to what is

now Kansas City. The rest of the State outside of these counties was practically unsettled.

Notwithstanding this rapid increase in the population of Missouri, it was still in the pioneer stage in

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1820. It was after all but sparsely settled, the average **Pioneer Conditions in Missouri** density throughout the State being only one person to every square mile.¹ Even if only those sections of the



MISSOURI COUNTIES IN 1821

Missouri was divided into twenty-five counties at the time of her admission into the Union. Reproduced by permission of the Political Science Department of the University of Missouri.

State that contained any settlements at all be considered, there were not more than three persons to the square mile. Moreover, Missouri was the most western section

¹ According to the census of 1910 the present average density of population in Missouri is a little over 48 per square mile. The population is 3,293,335, and the area 68,736 square miles.

of the United States; beyond it lay a vast stretch of western country as yet unsettled and but little explored. Life in Missouri in 1820, therefore, presented many of the usual characteristics of the frontier community.

1. Turbulence and Disorder

But a new type of frontier or pioneer life was being developed in Missouri during the period between the purchase of Louisiana in 1803 and the admission of Missouri as a state in 1821. Prior to 1803 the comfortable and easy-going French way of living, as has already been said, prevailed in the villages. During the period of Spanish domination the people had no share in the government except in the most trifling local matters, and they seemingly did not care to have any more. Political discussion was unknown. Thanks to the almost despotic military and civil authority, the Spanish officials were able to maintain very good order among the pioneer American emigrants who, even before 1803, had come to outnumber the French inhabitants.

With the purchase of Louisiana a great change came over the situation. The despotic authority of the Spanish officials gave way to the milder popular rule of the Americans. But this was by no means conducive to good order. Many of the Americans already settled in the country, who had been law-abiding because they feared the summary jurisdiction of Spanish courts, now became turbulent and lawless. In addition, a great many men bent on adventure, some of whom were depraved in character, came flocking in. As a result a great deal of disorder arose, and riots, contentions, and violence were not uncommon.

(a) Drunkenness and Gambling

The sale of liquor, which had been carefully controlled by the Spanish government, was now allowed without restriction at "taverns and groceries." This made inevitable a great deal of drunkenness. Gambling, the twin evil of drunkenness, likewise prevailed very extensively and openly. Professional men, civil and military



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officials, merchants, and Indian traders, all indulged. Profanity was quite common.

Sunday desecration became usual. On Sunday more trading was done than on any other day in the week, and no kind of labor was suspended on account of the day. But many found it possible on that day to give themselves to amusements of all sorts, some of which were very questionable at any time, and frequently the Sabbath closed with fighting. (b) Sunday Desecration

But fighting was not confined to Sunday. It was likely to occur at any time, especially among the river men and those who worked in the lead mines. They were a roving lot of men given to hard drinking and quarreling, and they often wound up their sprees in very brutal and often fatal combats. (c) Fighting

A more "dignified" form of combat prevailed among the better classes — the duel. This was fought generally with pistols, and the effort on the part of each antagonist was to kill, not merely to wound as in the case of certain European duels. Men resorted to the duel in order to determine who was the "best man," and it was expected that those who were personal rivals, especially among the doctors, lawyers, and politicians, would some time or other meet on the "field of honor" and settle their differences by means of arms. For that reason the most trivial circumstances would often bring forth a challenge; and to refuse to accept a challenge was a confession of cowardice; and to be branded a coward meant ostracism and the winding up of one's career, in that part of the world, at least. The number of prominent men in Missouri who engaged in duels either as principals or seconds was very large, and is a sad commentary on the moral standards of the time.

It is almost needless to say that everybody went armed most of the time, even at social functions and during sessions of court. Generally these weapons were concealed, but sometimes they were carried in full sight.

Daggers and pistols were the usual weapons that were thus borne about.

**(d) Raids on
Indians**

The Indians who had been protected by the Spanish government were now made to feel the effects of the hostile attitude of the Americans toward them. The Americans generally thought that "the only good Indian is a dead one." The villages of the Indians were there-fore raided and their property and horses stolen.

**2. Specula-
tions**

Speculations soon became rife, and fraudulent schemes of various kinds were hatched up. Different enterprises were started only to end in bankruptcy, dragging a great many people down into financial ruin.

**3. Political
Agitations**

The times were also marked by a great deal of agitation on many different subjects, especially politics. Political discussions were often nothing more than disputes carried on very boisterously, with much show of feeling and violence and very little of reasoning.

**Indications
of Progress**

There is another side, however, to this rather unlovely picture. Not everybody in Missouri was given to the things that have just been enumerated. There were many refined and intelligent residents in the new territory, especially in St. Louis, where cordial relations were maintained among the leading French and American families. In several towns private libraries of sufficient importance to attract public attention were formed. Physicians and surgeons, teachers and lawyers of considerable ability began to come in and establish themselves.

**1. Profes-
sional
Classes**

2. Schools

Many private schools were now being founded and, though very elementary as a rule, they offered opportunities for acquiring the rudiments of an education. During the Spanish period there had been but very few schools in what is now Missouri, and these, as well as the ones established during the territorial period, were confined to the villages and towns. Unfortunately, there were none to be found in the backwoods, and hence the children of these regions grew up in almost complete ignorance, and were therefore very quarrelsome.



CONDITIONS DURING THE TERRITORIAL PERIOD 85

Practically nothing was done, however, during the territorial period toward the establishing of public schools, except an act passed by Congress in 1812, which provided that all lots and out lots, common fields, and commons in Portage des Sioux, St. Charles, St. Louis, St. Ferdinand (Florissant), Village à Robert, and Little Prairie (Caruthersville), not rightfully owned or claimed by any private individual, should be granted to the several towns for school purposes. This grant is said to have become the foundation on which the system of public schools of St. Louis was built. In 1817 the territorial legislature passed an act providing for the organization of the St. Louis public schools.

During the territorial period Protestant churches were firmly established in almost all of the settled areas. Notwithstanding the Spanish restrictions against Protestants, mention of which was made in the preceding chapter, they came to what is now Missouri in large numbers during the Spanish period, thanks to the rather loose manner in which the religious regulations concerning the admission of immigrants were administered. Only occasionally did prospective Protestant immigrants find the tests so intolerable that they turned back and settled elsewhere. But since they were not allowed to maintain public worship or to organize congregations, they degenerated in their morals and faith. After the purchase of Louisiana, however, all religious restrictions were removed, and Protestant preachers and missionaries began to come in fairly large numbers and to take up with great zeal the work of organizing the Protestant churches.

Before 1820 all the important Protestant churches had organizations in Missouri, but the Baptists and Methodists had the greatest success in getting themselves established. The explanation of this fact is to be found first of all in the system of itinerancy that prevailed in the Baptist and Methodist churches. They had no such educational qualifications for their ministers as had the

3. Churches

(a) Removal of Religious Restrictions

(b) Adaptability of Baptists and Methodists to Pioneer Conditions

Presbyterians, the Congregationalists, and the Episcopalians, and hence any man who felt called upon to enter the field was sent. The sparse population of the country made it necessary for these preachers to travel in long circuits from place to place on horseback or on foot, and often through unsettled portions of the country. They took up this work gladly, and often they were the only ministers that ever reached the remote and out-of-the-way settlements in this early period.

In the second place, the style of preaching of the Baptist and Methodist ministers enabled them to appeal more effectively to the people than that of the preachers of the other denominations. Most of their preaching was of an elemental character and was directed to the emotions of their hearers, and inasmuch as they themselves were very much like the people among whom they worked, they knew how to drive home their appeals and exhortations. They were not any more zealous or self-sacrificing than those of other denominations, but they knew how to adapt them-



(c) Baptists
in Missouri

BETHEL BAPTIST CHURCH

The first Baptist church building west of the Mississippi River. Erected in 1806 near Cape Girardeau. It long ago disappeared.

what is now Missouri. Properly enough it was organized in that section which was from the first purely American, namely, Cape Girardeau. In 1806 a Baptist preacher by the name of Daniel Green came from Kentucky to

selves more readily to the conditions under which they had to labor, and as a result they early obtained the lead in the religious life of the country.

To the Baptists belongs the honor of having organized the first Protestant church in

Missouri and began to preach in the various settlements of Cape Girardeau District. During that year he organized the Bethel Baptist Church, and a small log church building was erected for the use of the congregation. It is true a preacher belonging to the German Reformed Church came into the Cape Girardeau District in 1803 and preached at many places in the district to the Germans who had settled there, and effected some sort of an organization

before 1806. But what he did was not so definite as that which was done by Green, and for this reason the credit of establishing the first Protestant church organization is generally given to the Baptists. In all probability there were other Protestants going about from place to place preaching before 1806, but there seems to be no record of the fact.



REV. JOHN MASON PECK

The most prominent of the early pioneer Baptist preachers in Missouri.



MCKENDREE CHAPEL

The first Methodist church building west of the Mississippi River. Erected in 1806 near Jackson, Missouri. It is still used by a Methodist congregation.

At about the same time at which Bethel Church was established by the Baptists in the Cape Girardeau District, the Methodists organized one in the same district at McKendree, about three miles from the present town of Jackson. Soon after that a log

(d) Methodists in Missouri

house of worship was built, and though it has been altered somewhat it still stands and is still used by a Methodist congregation. The Missouri Conference was organized in 1816, and consisted at that time of four circuits.¹

(e) Protestant Churches in St. Louis



BISHOP MCKENDREE

Presiding bishop over the Methodist Conference held at Mt. Zion Church in 1818, the first one ever held west of the Mississippi River. From Houck's *History of Missouri*.

(f) Influence of Pioneer Preachers

little remuneration as did the pioneer preachers of Missouri. It was the prevailing idea among the early American settlers that "ministers ought to preach without hope or promise of any compensation from their hearers or congregations," and many a preacher felt the full effects of this fixed notion. To a certain extent the preachers themselves were responsible for this condition, especially for its continuance. In time better educated ministers began to appear even among the Baptists and Methodists, and they, of course, expected remuneration of some sort. But the uneducated pioneer preachers

No Protestant church seems to have been established in St. Louis until 1816, when Timothy Flint arrived and proceeded to organize a Presbyterian church. The Baptists did not organize a church in St. Louis until 1818. The Episcopalians established themselves there in 1819, and it appears that the Methodists did not undertake work there until 1820.

No other men labored so hard and faithfully with so

¹ In 1916 the various Conferences of the M. E. Church and M. E. Church, South, in Missouri held appropriate celebrations in commemoration of the one hundredth anniversary of the founding of the Missouri Conference in 1816.

opposed the newcomers as being intruders upon their fields, and proclaimed very loudly against pay being given to any minister for his services.

It is not possible to measure the influence that these pioneer preachers exerted upon their times. Many of them were given in a measure to some of the besetting sins of their people, such as drinking. But, allowing for whatever shortcomings they may have had, they were sincere and devoted to their work, and they played no small part in the task of taming the wild spirits of the frontier and in bringing the country to a more settled condition of life.

The transfer of Louisiana to the United States in 1803 had for the time being a very injurious effect upon the Catholic Church throughout that territory. The priests

(g) Catholic
in Missouri



SECOND CATHOLIC CHURCH BUILDING IN ST. LOUIS

Erected in 1776 on the site of the first building, which soon became unfit for use. The walls in this second building were made of logs placed upright, and the interstices were filled with clay and straw. From Houck's *History of Missouri*.

were no longer sure of fixed salaries under the auspices of the government as they had been under Spain, and all but a very few of them left their posts and returned to Spain or Cuba. Probably they disliked the idea of being under American rule, and perhaps the prospect of poverty had something to do with their leaving the territory.

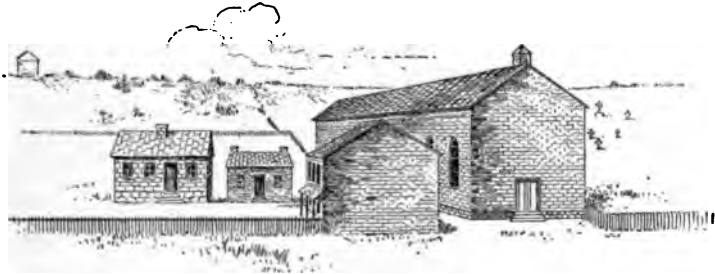
For the next few years after 1803 the affairs of the Catholic Church in what is now Missouri dragged along in a very unsatisfactory manner. This was especially true in St. Louis, which was without a resident priest for most of the time from 1803 to 1818. During that period the spiritual welfare of the faithful in St. Louis was attended to by priests who lived in other settlements in the Illinois and the Missouri country and who made occasional visits to St. Louis.



RT. REV. WILLIAM DUBOURG,
BISHOP OF LOUISIANA

The first Catholic bishop to reside in St. Louis. He lived there from 1818 to 1824. From Stevens' *Missouri, the Center State*, by permission of the Missouri Historical Society.

A new era in the Catholic Church in Missouri began in 1818, when the Rt. Rev. William DuBourg, Bishop of Louisiana, arrived in St. Louis to assume the duties of his office. DuBourg had been appointed as administrator of New Orleans in 1812; but owing to a controversy



FIRST BRICK CATHOLIC CHURCH AND COLLEGE IN ST. LOUIS

Erected shortly after 1818 in place of the log structure that had been built in 1776.

which arose on his arrival between him and the pastor of the Cathedral Church of New Orleans, DuBourg soon

left New Orleans and went to Rome, where he was consecrated as bishop of Upper and Lower Louisiana.

Heretofore the episcopal residence of the bishop of Louisiana had been at New Orleans. But DuBourg realized that for the time being, at least, it would be impracticable for him to attempt to reside at New Orleans, and so he made arrangements to move the episcopal seat from that place to St. Louis. Moreover, he hoped that before long the diocese of Louisiana would be divided into two dioceses and that he would be allowed to remain in the upper one. After spending some time in Europe gathering funds for the

work in his new field and in enlisting men for service there, he made his way to St. Louis, arriving there in January, 1818. Although there had been some indifference on the part of the Catholics of St. Louis and other parts of Upper Louisiana over his coming, he soon won the hearts of all and secured their loyal support.¹

DuBourg was a man of considerable vision. He undertook many things that proved to be of great importance

¹The one hundredth anniversary of DuBourg's arrival in St. Louis was celebrated by the Catholics of that city by special services in the old cathedral in St. Louis on January 6, 1918.



THE OLD CATHOLIC CATHEDRAL IN
ST. LOUIS

Erected in 1834. This is the fourth church building that has been erected on the church block that was laid out by Laclède in the original village in 1764. From Stevens' *Missouri, the Center State*, by permission of the Missouri Historical Society.

in the history of the Catholic church in Missouri. Among other things he began the erection of a brick church building at St. Louis to replace the old log and post

structure that had been built in 1776.¹ He remained in St. Louis until 1824, when he removed the episcopal seat to New Orleans, where he resided for two more years, resigning at the end of that time and returning to Europe.

It was during the territorial period that the first newspapers were established in Missouri,—another important sign of the improving conditions. The first newspaper to be established, not only in Missouri, but also west of the Mississippi, was the *Missouri Gazette*, founded by Joseph Charless in St. Louis in 1808. This paper has had a continued existence from that time to this, under different names, and is



JOSSEPH CHARLESS

Founder of the *Missouri Gazette*, the first newspaper west of the Mississippi River. It has had a continuous existence from 1808 to the present. It is now called the *St. Louis Republic*. From Houck's *History of Missouri*.

now known as the *St. Louis Republic*.² It is one of the few newspapers in the United States that has existed for more than a century. In the course of a

¹This brick church building was replaced in 1834 by a stone structure, the present old cathedral of St. Louis on Walnut and Second streets. This cathedral was built by Bishop Rosati, the first bishop of St. Louis. In 1914 a magnificent new Catholic cathedral was erected in the western part of St. Louis.

²On July 12, 1908, the *St. Louis Republic* celebrated its one hundredth anniversary by issuing a very elaborate and expensive edition. Among other things it reprinted in facsimile the earliest copy of the *Gazette* that has been preserved, which was No. 3 of Volume 1, dated July 26, 1808. Unfortunately no copy of No. 1 of Volume 1, which was issued on July 12, 1808, is known to be in existence.



Missouri Gazette

VOL. I.

TUESDAY, JULY 26, 1808

No. 3.

ST. LOUIS, LOUISIANA.

PRINTED BY JOSEPH CHARLESS.

Printer to the Territory.

Terms of Subscription for the MISSOURI GAZETTE.

Three Dollars paid in advance.

Advertisements not exceeding a square, will be inserted one week for one dollar, and fifty cents for every continuance, those of a greater length in proportion.

Advertisements sent to this Office, without specifying the time they are to be inserted, will be continued until forbid, and charged accordingly

LONDON, April 25.

Upon the subject of Sir John Duckworth's late cruise, we have been favored with the following extract of a letter from an officer belonging to the squadron, dated

"Cawland Bay, April 18.

"Having run down the Bay of Biscay, and called off Capes Ortugal and Finisterre, and Lisbon, we arrived off Madeira, and found Sir Samuel Hood, laying in Funchall roads, where we remained for two days. On the morning of the 3d of February, his majesty's ship *Comus*, gave us intelligence of her having been chased two days before to the N. W. of Madeira, and it then became obvious that the destination of the French squadron was the West Indies, for which we proceeded with all expedition & made the islands of St. Lucia and Martinique in twenty one days. Off the east end of Martinique we saw six sail of the line; we cleared for action, and formed the line of battle, but, on exchanging signals we found instead of enemies; it was Sir Alexander Cochrane, with his squadron, who was waiting to give that enemy a reception which we were in chafe of, conceiving that he would take refuge in that port. Finding that his fleet was sufficient to cope with them in those seas, we passed all the Windward Islands, and anchored on the 16th of February in Bassaterre Roads, St. Kitts, where we remained only 18 hours, just long enough to take in water, but no provisions, nor

even linen washed. We then proceeded to Saint Domingo, where it was supposed the enemy had proceeded for the purpose of landing troops; but on our arrival there we found no ships. After cruising in the *Mono* Passage for seven or eight days, we made all dispatch for the coast of America, and arrived off the Chesapeake on the 11th March. We communicated with the *Statira* frigate, and found that our Ambassador, Mr. Rofe, was at Washington for the last time, to determine whether it should be peace or war with England. We should have gone in, but the Yankees would not let us have a pilot, nor supply us with water and provisions, which forced us to be content to live upon half our usual allowance; they would not give us a single pint of water or a cabbage stock. We left the *Eurydice*, to bring us any intelligence that might occur as to peace or war with America, and quitted the inhospitable shores of America for the Western Islands, where we procured all we wanted, after a long and very anxious cruise. The Governor of Flores [a Portuguese] came off to us, but not being able to give us any information, the Admiral thought it most expedient to proceed for England, where we arrived this morning, after having been three months at sea, and made a complete circuit of the Western and Atlantic Ocean, a journey of upwards of thirteen thousand miles."

We learn by other letters, that our squadron remained several days off the Chesapeake, and that the treatment it experienced was such as by no means to encourage the hopes of late entertained by many, of an amicably termination of our present negotiation with the United States. It is certain, that no article whatever of supply could be obtained by our admiral from the inhospitable and hostile Americans; and it follows of course, that the reparation offered by our government for the affair of the Chesapeake frigate was made in vain; although that circumstance alone, since so amply atoned for, was assigned by the President's proclamation as the motive for prohibiting all intercourse between the inhabitants and such British ships of war as might arrive in the Ame-

rican waters. Such conduct argues to hostile a determination on the government of the United States, that the general opinion expressed by the officers of our squadron, "that a war with America is inevitable," cannot be considered as founded upon weak or trivial grounds. We should have expected that Mr. Rofe's mission would at least have procured for our squadron the rights of hospitality, if it did not effect a complete re-establishment of the former good understanding between the two countries; but we fear the Frenchified government of the United States has so far resigned itself to the baleful influence of the cabinet of the Tuilleries, that nothing but salutary chastisement will bring it to a due sense of the pernicious error into which its unnatural propensities have permitted it to be led. If America will have war with Great Britain, she will have herself only to blame for the consequences. It is our sincere wish to remain at peace with her, and our ministers, it is well known, have adopted every expedient short of comprising the honor, the dignity of the nation to avoid the extremity of warfare; but we are certainly not prepared to lay the honor and the essential interests of the empire at the feet of any junto upon earth. The blustering American demagogues may perhaps have founded some portion of their confidence upon the support of a certain party in this country; some of them, as we lately took occasion to remark, may derive hopes from the confiscation of property and the non-payment of debts; they may conceal from themselves their comparative impotence, by throwing their weight into the aggregate of the enemies of Great Britain; but a few short months of war would convince these politicians of the folly of measuring their puny strength with the colossal power of the British empire. We do not ourselves wish to be understood, as stating positively that a war with the United States is become inevitable; the door for amicable adjustment still remains open, and while it continues so, hopes of adjustment may not irrationally be indulged. But in whatever manner the negotiation may terminate, we shall have the consolation to re-

(See 4th Page.)

FACSIMILE IN REDUCED FORM OF THE FRONT PAGE OF THE "MISSOURI GAZETTE" FOR JULY 26, 1808, VOL. I, NO. 3.

No copies of the two previous issues have been preserved.

few years other papers were started in St. Louis, the most important of which was the *Enquirer*, which became a bitter rival of the *Gazette*. Probably the most important of the early newspapers outside of St. Louis was the *Missouri Intelligencer*, founded in Franklin in 1817. It too has had a continued existence under different names and in different places, and now survives as the *Herald-Statesman* at Columbia. By 1820 newspapers were also established at Jackson, Cape Girardeau, and Ste. Genevieve.

Most of the news contained in these newspapers was from the Eastern states and foreign countries and not from the locality in which they were published; and most of the news, whether from the outside or from the State, was political in character. Since communication was slow in those days, the news from the Eastern states was from a week to a month old, and that from foreign lands was, of course, much older. It is very unfortunate for historical purposes that so little that pertained to the life of the State aside from politics found its way into the current newspapers of early days.

5. Postal
Facilities

With the purchase of Louisiana came a demand on the part of the people living in the territory for better postal facilities. During the Spanish period "no one dreamed of demanding the establishment of post routes and post offices"; but after the purchase post offices were at once established in St. Charles, St. Louis, Ste. Genevieve, Cape Girardeau, and New Madrid. Soon the demand came for more post offices and more mail routes, and for greater regularity in the delivery of the mail. The newspapers frequently had to go to press without their usual quota of eastern and foreign news because the mail had not arrived, and at such times, of course, the complaints were loud and long about the delays of the mails. People wanted to find out what was going on, and they let it be known when the service was not as prompt as they thought it ought to be. In 1819 there were fifteen dif-

ferent mail routes in Missouri Territory, on some of which there were deliveries once a week and on others only once in two weeks.

Better mail service was made possible only through improvements in the transportation facilities, and it was during this period that new roads were laid out and old ones improved, although many of the roads were, as yet, nothing more than mere bridle paths. Better and more numerous ferries facilitated the passage over streams. But the most important improvement along the line of transportation that took place during this period was the steamboat. On August 2, 1817, a steamboat named "Zebulon M. Pike" landed at St. Louis, to the great amazement of the inhabitants, who crowded the banks to see the novel sight.¹ Nothing like it had ever been seen there before. Another steamboat, called the "Constitution," came in October, but it was not till 1819 that anyone would venture to ascend the Missouri in such a vessel. However, in that year the "Independence" made a trip from St. Louis to Franklin and Chariton and returned in twenty-one days, and thus established the fact that steamboat navigation was not an impossibility on the Missouri.²

The importance and significance of this new mode of transportation were fully appreciated by the people of Missouri at that time. Travel by water had heretofore been very slow and far from comfortable, especially in going up the streams. It required weeks and sometimes months to make the trip from New Orleans to St. Louis. Commercially the streams were of chief value in aiding

6. Transportation
Facilities

(a) Roads
and Ferries

(b) Steam-
boats

¹ In 1811 the first steamboat in the west was launched at Pittsburgh and made its way down the Ohio and the Mississippi to New Orleans and back again.

² The arrival of the "Independence" at Franklin was duly celebrated by the citizens of that place. They gave the passengers and officers of the boat a public dinner and afterwards held a public meeting at which numerous toasts were offered and speeches made.

the people in getting their products to the markets that were lower down the Mississippi. Both flatboats and keel boats were used in going down a stream, but generally the owner of the flatboats sold them for lumber at New Orleans instead of trying to pull them back to St. Louis. It was possible to come up the stream in keel boats, but the difficulties were very great and the freight rates high. For that reason less was brought from the markets than was taken there.

But all this was changed by the introduction of the steamboat, and though it took time to perfect the service, it was realized that travel and transportation of commodities would be easier, quicker, and cheaper than ever before. In the further economic and industrial developments of Missouri, the steamboat on the Missouri River played a very important part for a considerable period.¹

**7. Industrial
Improvements**

The business and industrial world showed traces of the new spirit that was taking possession of the country. The Americans who were coming in were better farmers and stock-raisers than their French neighbors had been. They also brought better machinery and better methods for mining lead; and very shortly they increased the output of the old mines and also opened up new ones. The local fur trade was declining on account of the rapid disappearance of the fur-bearing animals and the removal of the Indians, but the region of the Upper Missouri, which was made known by the Lewis and Clark expeditions of 1805-08, offered a tempting field for men of adventure and enterprise. The most active of these fur traders of Missouri during this period was Manuel Lisa, who in thirteen years made at least twelve different trips to the headwaters of the Missouri.

8. Taverns

The Missourians at this time were noted for their hospitality to strangers. Travelers going through the

¹ Flatboats were not at once discarded on the appearance of the steamboat; they were still used for some time to carry grain and other bulky commodities down the streams.

country were almost universally welcomed at all hours during the day and night. But after 1803 they were no longer compelled to ask for entertainment in private



OLD MARKET HOUSE AT ST. LOUIS

homes as they had been during the Spanish period. Taverns and inns began to be established very shortly after the purchase of Louisiana, and soon they might be found in practically every town. Tavern-keepers were retailers of liquor as well as hosts to traveling guests, and frequently their taverns were resorts for gamblers and other persons of disrepute.

On the whole, while much that existed in the period which we have been surveying was rude and rough, there were indications on every hand that gave promise of the development of a strong and vigorous civilization.

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CHAPTER VI

THE STRUGGLE OF MISSOURI FOR STATEHOOD

[*Historical Setting.* — The Missouri Compromise.]

I. CHANGES IN THE TERRITORIAL GOVERNMENT OF MISSOURI, 1803-20

Now that we have dealt with the colonial and the territorial periods in the history of Missouri, we turn to its struggle for admission into the Union. It is well known that the question as to whether Missouri should be allowed to come into the Union or not was the foremost issue of the day during the years from 1819 to 1821. That the petition of Missouri for admission should have proved so momentous an issue in our national history was due to the fact that it was wrapped up in the very grave question concerning the further territorial extension of slavery. Everywhere, in and out of Congress, men were profoundly stirred by the question that had been raised, and so violent did the agitation over the matter become that many feared at the time for the safety of the Union. Thanks, however, to the influence of certain leaders in Congress, the threatened crisis was averted, and for thirty years more the question of the territorial extension of slavery lay dormant.

It is not our purpose, however, to go into the details of this controversy as it was waged in Congress or throughout the country at large. That has been done in most excellent fashion by many writers whose books are readily available. It is our intention, however, to deal with the matter from the point of view of the Missourians of that

**Significance
of the
Missouri
Question**

time, and to consider in some detail the founding of the state government of Missouri. Fortunately these phases of the subject have recently been developed in a most scholarly manner by Shoemaker in his great book entitled *Missouri's Struggle for Statehood*, and what is offered in this chapter is largely drawn from that book.

But before we set forth the history of Missouri's effort to gain admission into the Union, a few words should be said upon the changes that occurred in the territorial government of Missouri from 1803 to 1820.

Act of
Congress,
1803

We saw in a former chapter that very shortly after the ratification of the Louisiana Purchase Treaty Congress passed an act providing temporarily for the government of the newly acquired territory.¹ By this act all civil and military authority in the territory was placed under the direction of the President, who thereupon appointed Amos Stoddard commandant of Upper Louisiana.

Act of 1804

This arrangement was superseded by another Act of Congress in 1804,² which provided that Louisiana should be divided into two distinct territories, all south of the 33d parallel being designated as the Territory of Orleans and all north of that line as the District of Louisiana. The Territory of Orleans was given its own territorial government, but the District of Louisiana was for purposes of administration put under the government of the Territory of Indiana, which at that time embraced all of the Northwest Territory except the newly created State of Ohio. Accordingly all judicial, legislative, and executive authority over the District of Louisiana was vested in the governor and the three judges of the Indiana Territory.³

1. Creation
of the
District of
Louisiana

¹ The Treaty providing for the purchase of Louisiana was ratified on October 21, 1803. The Act of Congress providing for the temporary government of Louisiana was approved ten days later.

² Passed on March 26, to go into effect on October 1, 1804.

³ The governor of Indiana at that time was General William Henry Harrison, who afterward became President.



STRUGGLE OF MISSOURI FOR STATEHOOD 101

This Act of Congress which thus subordinated the District of Louisiana to the government of the Territory of Indiana was very unpopular in the District, and two days before it was to go into effect a petition was framed by representatives elected by the people of the five administrative divisions of the District (St. Charles, St. Louis, Ste. Genevieve, Cape Girardeau, and New Madrid) protesting against the Act and asking for a different sort of territorial government. In this petition objections were made, first, to the annexation of the District of Louisiana to the Indiana Territory, which thereby put the administration of government into the hands of men who were non-residents of the District and who lived at a seat of government 165 miles distant, and to the use of the inferior word "district" instead of "territory"; second, to the lack of any provision for self government; third, to the failure to guarantee protection for the institution of slavery west of the Mississippi River; fourth, to the proposed removal of the Indians east of the Mississippi to the District of Louisiana; fifth, to the declaration that all Spanish land grants that had been made since Spain retroceded Louisiana to France in 1800 were null and void. The petition concluded by asking that the District be given a distinct territorial government with officers who should be appointed by the President and who should reside in the District and hold property therein; that a legislative council be created consisting of the governor and two members elected by the people from each county in the District; that the rights of slave owners be protected; that the District should have a delegate to Congress; and that all private engagements made according to Spanish law and all judgments rendered according to that law during the Spanish period should be observed.

2. Protest
against this
Act

Congress responded to this petition by passing another Act on March 3, 1805, providing for a separate territorial organization of the first or lowest rank for Upper Louisi-

Act of 1805

ana, and changing the name from District of Louisiana to that of Territory of Louisiana. All executive authority was vested in a governor appointed by the President for a term of three years, and all legislative power was given to the governor and three judges who were appointed by the President for a term of four years. The judicial authority was conferred upon the three territorial judges and whatever inferior courts the territorial legislature might establish. Associated with the governor was a secretary appointed by the President for four years, whose ordinary duties were clerical, but who became governor when that office was vacant. Notwithstanding the fact that there was no provision for a delegate to Congress or for elected officers of any sort in the territory, as had been asked for by the petition, the arrangement just outlined proved very satisfactory to the people of the territory.

Act of 1812 No change was made in this arrangement for the Territory of Louisiana until 1812. By that time the population of the territory had become double what it was at the time of the purchase of Louisiana, and the citizens of the territory began to feel they were entitled to a higher form of territorial government. Between 1810 and 1812 they submitted at least fifteen petitions to Congress on the matter.¹

1. Creation of the Territory of Missouri It so happened that during April, 1812, the Territory of Orleans was admitted into the Union as the State of Louisiana, and that seemed to furnish Congress an occasion for dealing at once with the government of the Territory of Louisiana. An Act was therefore passed on June 4, 1812, which changed the name of the territory from that of Louisiana to Missouri, and raised it to the second rank of territories. The executive authority was still vested in a governor appointed by the President for a term of three years and with powers much as before.

2. Changes in the Territorial Institutions

¹ One of these asked, however, that no change be made in the territorial government.

No change was made with regard to the secretary. But a very important change was made in the legislature. Instead of a legislative council composed of the governor and the judges, there was now a legislature of two houses, the legislative council and the house of representatives. The legislative council was to be composed of nine members appointed for five years by the President from a list of eighteen drawn up by the territorial house of representatives. The latter body was to be made up of members elected for two years by the people, one for every 500 free white male inhabitants until the number of representatives should reach twenty-five. All free male white citizens who had resided twelve months in the territory and who had paid a territorial or a county tax were entitled to vote for representatives. The legislature was to meet annually and was given extensive powers. The judiciary included a superior court, composed of three judges appointed as before, and inferior courts and justices of the peace. The citizens of the territory were given the right to send a delegate to Congress, who of course would have no right to vote in that body.

From the foregoing, it will be seen that the most important changes that had been made in the government of the territory consisted in making one branch of the legislature elective and in authorizing a Congressional delegate.

The last governmental change prior to the First Missouri Compromise was in April, 1816, when the Territory of Missouri was raised to the third and highest rank of territories. The legislative council was now made elective, with one member from each county, and for a term of two years instead of five. The legislature was to hold biennial instead of annual sessions. The judges of the superior court were to hold both superior and circuit courts, and in civil cases were to have chancery powers as well as common law jurisdiction. **Act of 1816**

**Boundary
Changes**

Meanwhile, no change had been made in the territorial boundaries of Upper Louisiana. Up to 1819 this territory, by whatever name it was called, whether the District of Louisiana, the Territory of Louisiana, or the Territory of Missouri, included all of the original Louisiana Purchase north of the 33d parallel. In 1819, however, that part of the Missouri Territory which lay between the parallels of 33° and 36°30' was set apart as the Territory of Arkansas, thereby reducing the former by just that much.¹

2. THE FIRST MISSOURI COMPROMISE**Petitions for
Statehood****1. Popular
Petitions
of 1817**

In less than two years after Congress had raised the Territory of Missouri to the third and highest rank of territories, definite agitation was started in favor of her admission into the Union as a state. Some time during the latter part of 1817 a number of petitions addressed to Congress praying for this boon were circulated among the citizens of Missouri and were signed by them. These petitions were submitted to Congress during the early months of 1818, the first one being introduced on January 8, 1818, the third anniversary of the battle of New Orleans.² Early in April a bill authorizing the people of Missouri to form a constitution and a state government was introduced, but it got no farther than the Committee of the Whole, where it lodged for the rest of the session.

¹ For an account of the changes in county organization that had been going on between 1805 and 1820 and for the maps that illustrate those changes, see Chapter V.

² It has been claimed by some that this date was deliberately selected by those in charge of the matter as being the appropriate time for the submission of the first petition. Missourians, it is said, claimed that they were entitled to some special credit for the victory at New Orleans. The bullets and buckshot that Jackson used that day had been made at Maclot's shot tower at Herculaneum, and part of the cotton bales which protected the Americans as they swept the ranks of the British had been furnished by another Missourian, John Mullanphy, who was in New Orleans at the time, buying up cotton in anticipation of the rise in prices that would come at the close of the war.

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In November, 1818, the territorial legislature of Missouri drafted a memorial petitioning Congress for the admission of Missouri as a state. This is the only petition for statehood that ever emanated from the legislature, and so far as we know no others were submitted from private citizens during the year 1818. About a month after the presentation of this legislative memorial to Congress, a bill was introduced granting their request, but it failed of passage because the Senate would not concur in accepting the famous Tallmadge amendment passed by the House. This amendment provided that no more slaves should be brought into Missouri and that all slave children therein were to be free when they should become twenty-five years of age.

2. Legisla-
tive Me-
morial of
1818

During the summer and fall of 1819, following the failure of the Missouri bill in Congress, several private petitions and resolutions were drawn up by the citizens of Missouri insisting that it should be admitted into the Union.

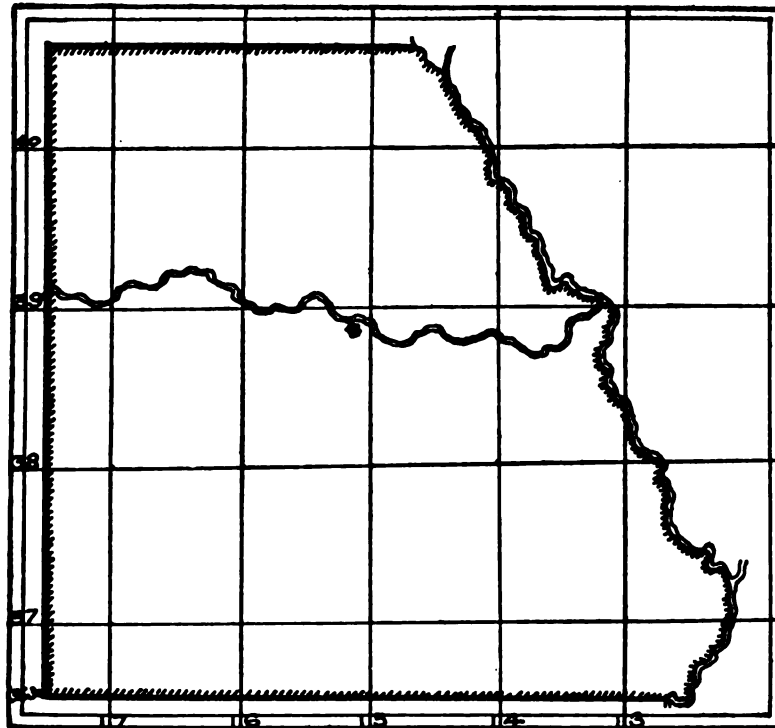
3. Popular
Petitions of
1819

On examining these different petitions to Congress by Missourians, it will be found that all of them agree on the evils and inconveniences of the territorial system of government and on the justice of granting to the people of Missouri the right to form a state government. But there are certain interesting differences between the various petitions regarding the boundaries of the proposed State. The ones that were drawn up in 1817 asked that the boundaries should be the Mississippi on the east, the 36th parallel on the south, the Osage boundary line on the west,¹ and the 40th parallel on the north. If these boundaries had been granted, the State would have been minus the little panhandle district which it now has at the southeastern corner, and also a strip of territory 24 miles wide along the entire western border. The legislative memorial of 1818 asked for boundaries which, if they had been granted, would have given the

4. Differ-
ences in the
Petitions
Regarding
Boundaries

¹ The Osage boundary line ran through Ft. Osage on the Missouri River twenty-four miles up from the mouth of the Kansas River.

State a much greater extent than it was actually given. They would have included: all the territory within the present State except Atchison County and a part of Holt County in the northwestern corner; about 5000 square miles out of the northeastern corner of the present



BOUNDARIES OF MISSOURI AS SUGGESTED IN THE PETITION TO
CONGRESS FOR STATEHOOD IN 1817

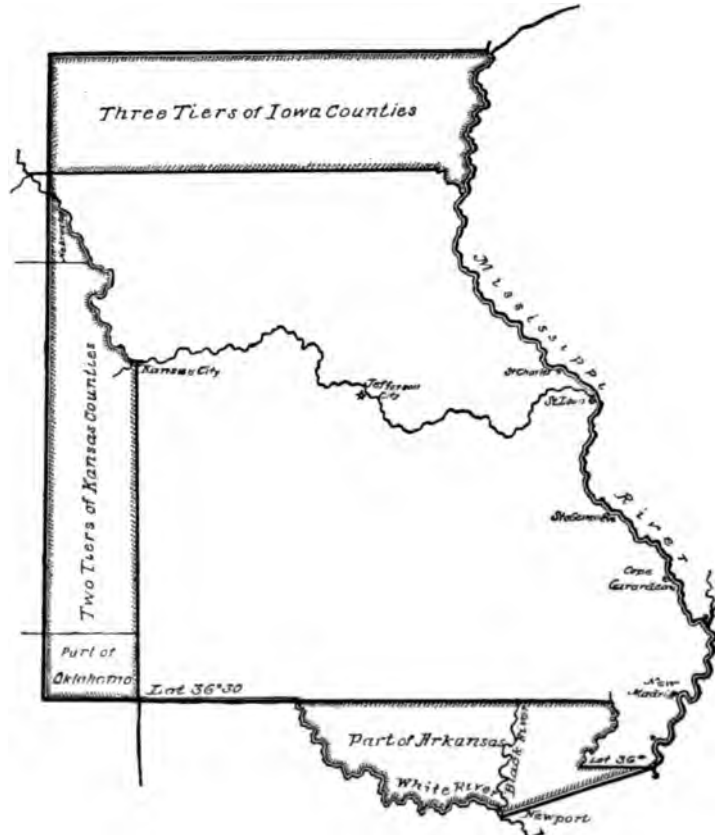
From Houck's *History of Missouri*.

state of Arkansas; a strip of territory about 60 miles wide and 200 miles long, on the eastern border of what is now Kansas; and a strip of territory on the southern border of the present state of Iowa amounting to three tiers of counties.



STRUGGLE OF MISSOURI FOR STATEHOOD 107

With one exception the petitions and resolutions of 1819 favored the boundaries as petitioned for in the legislative memorial of 1818. That one exception asked



BOUNDARIES OF MISSOURI AS SUGGESTED IN THE LEGISLATIVE MEMORIAL TO CONGRESS FOR STATEHOOD IN 1818

From Houck's *History of Missouri*.

for boundaries as follows: the Missouri River from its mouth to the mouth of the Kansas River, thence west to the western boundary of the United States; thence south along the western boundary to the 36th parallel; thence

east to the White River and down that river to the mouth of the Big Black River; thence east to the Mississippi; thence up the latter river to the mouth of the Missouri. Boundaries such as these would have made Missouri a state with an extent from east to west far greater than from north to south, and would have excluded all territory north of the Missouri River. It should be stated that this Missouri River boundary petition emanated from what is now southeast Missouri and northwest Arkansas, and it is said that it had been prompted by jealousy of the rapidly developing Boone's Lick region. It was signed by only five or six hundred people, and was most bitterly opposed in all other parts of the territory.

First Missouri Compromise

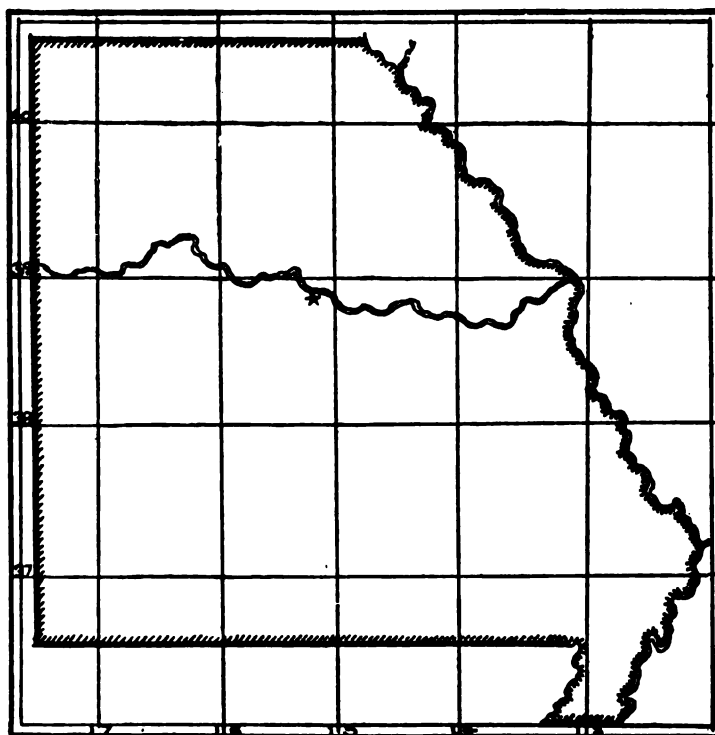
The third Missouri bill was introduced very shortly after Congress convened in December, 1819. At this session Maine sought for admission into the Union and the Senate joined the Maine bill as passed by the House with the Missouri bill which it was considering. To the Missouri bill the Senate had also added the important Thomas amendment which provided that slavery should forever be prohibited in all the territory ceded by France to the United States north of 36° 30', except Missouri. The House meanwhile had been trying to pass the Missouri bill with restrictions upon slavery in the proposed new state, and on receiving from the Senate the Maine-Missouri bill with the Thomas amendment, rejected it at once. The matter was finally sent to a conference committee, and as a result both houses agreed to a separation of the Maine and the Missouri bills, and to the passage of the Missouri bill with the Thomas amendment. This bill was approved on March 6, 1820.

1. The Thomas Amendment

2. Provisions Regarding a Constitutional Convention

According to the provisions of this Enabling Act, the inhabitants of the Missouri Territory were authorized to form a constitution and a state government. A constitutional convention was to be elected by all the free white male citizens over 21 years old, who had resided in the territory three months, and was commissioned to

draft a constitution for the new State. A copy of this constitution when framed was to be sent to Congress, and on the completion of the state government Missouri was to be admitted into the Union on an equal footing with the other states.



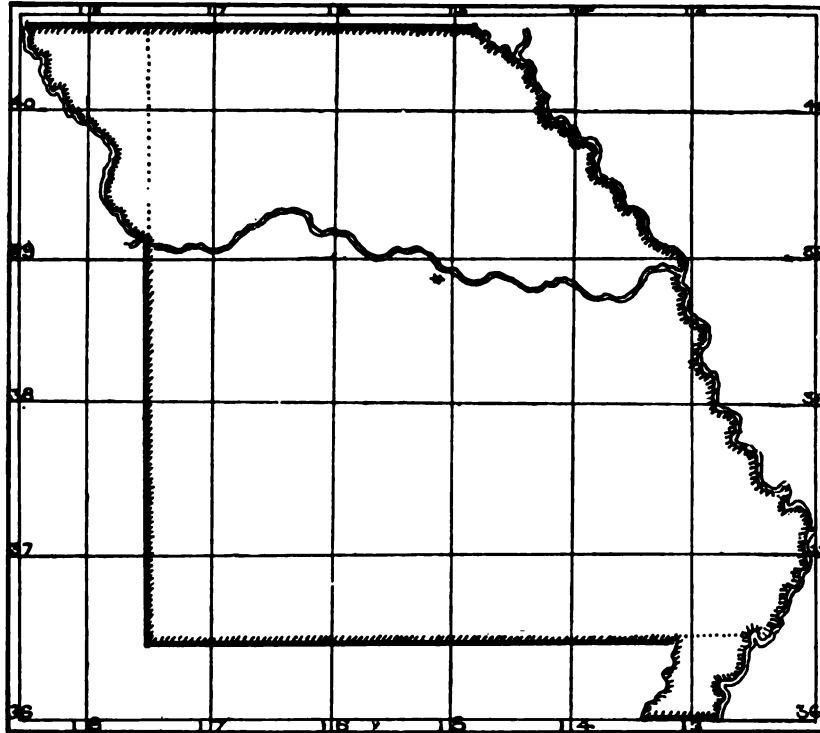
BOUNDARIES OF MISSOURI AS ADOPTED BY CONGRESS IN 1820

From Houck's *History of Missouri*.

The boundaries of the State as described in the Enabling Act were as follows: from the Mississippi River where the 36th parallel crosses it, thence west along that parallel to the St. François River, thence north along that river to the parallel of $36^{\circ}30'$, and thence along that parallel west to a line running due north and south through

3. Boundaries

the mouth of the Kansas River; thence due north along that line to the parallel intersecting the rapids of the Des Moines River; thence along that parallel to the Des Moines River and down that river to the Mississippi



BOUNDARIES OF MISSOURI AFTER THE ADDITION OF THE
PLATTE PURCHASE IN 1837

The six counties in the northwestern part of the State constitute what is known as the Platte Purchase. From Houck's *History of Missouri*.

River; and thence down the Mississippi to the place of beginning.

These boundaries were more nearly like those set forth in the petitions of 1817 than those in the legislative memorial of 1818. A little more territory, however,

was included in the Enabling Act than had been asked for in the petitions of 1817, such as the panhandle district between the Mississippi and the St. François rivers in the southeastern part of the State, and also a strip along the western border about 24 miles wide.¹

Now that we have followed in broad outline the controversy as waged in Congress over the question of Missouri's admission into the Union, let us see what the Missourians had meanwhile been saying and doing with regard to this matter.

They first began to express themselves on the subject when Congress, owing to the disagreement over the Tallmadge amendment, failed to pass the Missouri bill in 1819, and from the mass of historical material that has come down to us from that time we may well suppose that the subject was one upon which every Missourian spoke freely. Of those expressions of opinion that were made more or less publicly, the most important were resolutions adopted at various public meetings, toasts proposed



J. HARDEMAN WALKER

To him was due the inclusion of the "Panhandle District" in southeastern Missouri within the boundaries of the State. From Houck's *History of Missouri*.

Public
Opinion in
Missouri
over the
Struggle in
Congress

1. Methods
Employed
in Expressin
Opinions

¹ According to tradition the little panhandle district in southeastern Missouri was included within the boundaries of the State because of the activity of Mr. J. Hardeman Walker, who lived on a plantation near Little Prairie, now Caruthersville. If the southern boundary line of the State had been fixed at 36°30' along its entire course, that section of the country in which he was interested would have been left out of the new State. He is credited with handling the matter in some way so that the territory lying between the Mississippi and the St. François rivers should be included as far south as the 36th parallel.

and drunk at public celebrations and dinners, presentations of grand juries, newspaper editorials, and other articles contributed by private individuals. In seven different counties (Montgomery, St. Louis, Howard, Washington, Ste. Genevieve, New Madrid, and Cape Girardeau) public meetings were held during the spring and summer of 1819 and resolutions were adopted by them. Mention should also be made of the resolutions of the Mt. Pleasant Baptist Association at its meeting held in Howard County in September of that year. Accounts of at least ten different public dinners and celebrations in different parts of the State have also come down to us. On these occasions toasts were proposed and drunk. The grand juries of seven different circuit courts (St. Louis, St. Charles, Howard, Jefferson, Lincoln, Montgomery, and Washington counties) and the grand jury of the superior court submitted in formal resolutions what they considered the views of their communities. Numerous newspaper editorials of importance appeared in the five newspapers of the territory (*Missouri Intelligencer*, *St. Louis Gazette*, *St. Louis Enquirer*, *St. Charles Missourian*, and *Jackson Herald*, later known as the *Independent Patriot*), as well as hundreds of articles contributed by various writers.

2. Opposition to Congressional Restrictions Regarding Slavery

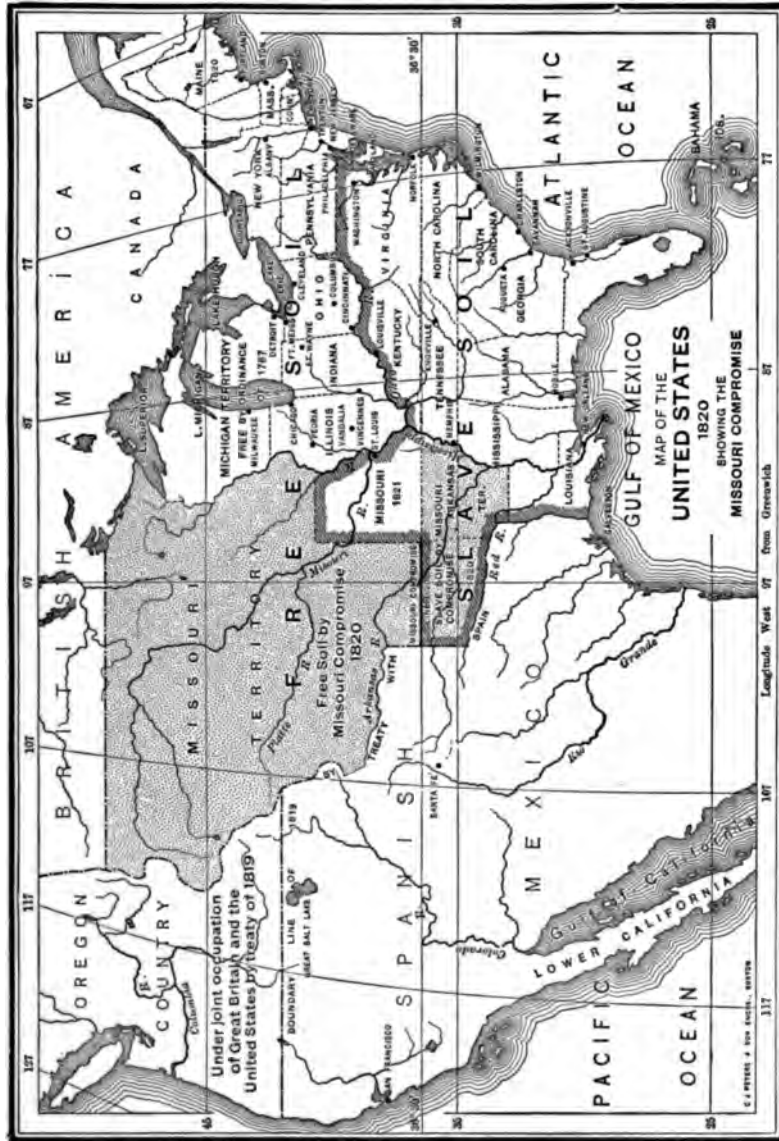
From a study of these different expressions it appears that, on the great issue that was before the nation, the people of Missouri were united in opposing any attempt on the part of Congress to put any restrictions upon Missouri as the price of her admission into the Union. Only one minor public gathering and only six contributed newspaper articles favored Congressional restrictions. In practically every resolution and editorial or contributed article that denied the right of Congress to impose any restrictions upon Missouri, the argument was based on the United States Constitution and on the treaty of cession. The gist of this argument was, first, that the Constitution gave Congress the power to

admit a state into the Union, but did not give that body the power to lay any restriction upon a state save that its government should be republican in character, and that inasmuch as slavery was not an anti-republican institution, it did not come under constitutional restriction; and second, that since in the Louisiana Purchase Treaty the United States had guaranteed to protect the property of the citizens of the newly acquired territory, Congress could not place any restrictions on slavery in Missouri because slaves had been held as property in Louisiana prior to and after 1803.¹ Other arguments were used against Congressional restrictions, but these just mentioned were the more important. However, beneath all these arguments it may plainly be seen that the economic interests of the people in the institution of slavery had much, if not most, to do with their opposition to Congressional restrictions.

Agitation in Missouri against Congressional restriction was kept up until the news was brought that a compromise had been agreed upon in Congress whereby the State would be allowed to enter the Union without any limitations upon her regarding slavery. Some of the bitterest articles in the *St. Louis Enquirer* appeared after the Missouri bill had been passed but before the news to that effect had arrived. When it became known in the State that Missouri was to be admitted without restrictions, anger immediately gave way to exultation.

3. Reception of the News of the Compromise

¹ The Montgomery County resolutions are typical as regards the argument used on these points. It was declared in these resolutions that the attempted restriction on Missouri's admission was a "daring stretch of power, an usurpation of our most sacred rights, unprecedented, unconstitutional, and in open violation of the third article of the Treaty of Cession entered into with France"; that the people "would never cease to resist with firmness all such encroachments upon their right by every possible constitutional means"; that they "regretted the necessity causing this protest; but duty impelled them to protect their constitution against foreign or domestic foes."





STRUGGLE OF MISSOURI FOR STATEHOOD 115

The bearer of the glad tidings was Thomas Hempstead, who reached Jackson, Missouri, on March 21, 1820, on his way to St. Louis. When he reached the latter place he was received with great rejoicing. An illumination was held in honor of the passage of the bill, and several transparencies were displayed, one of which showed the American eagle surmounting the Irish harp; another "represented a slave in great spirits over the permission granted by Congress to bring slaves into so fine a country as Missouri." In others the names of Northern Congressmen who had aided in the passage of the bill were exhibited, among which was the name of Senator Lenman of Connecticut, who had been burned in effigy in Hartford for his attitude toward the Missouri question. By the first of April the news reached the Boone's Lick region and a big dinner was given in Franklin to celebrate the "late triumph over Eastern policy and Eastern artifice." Missourians spoke of the Southern Congressmen as "a band of Spartans standing united in the pass of Thermopylæ, defending the people of Missouri, the treaty of Cession, and the Constitution of the Republic"; and many persons suggested that an "imperishable monument of everlasting fame" should be erected to the honor of the Northern Congressmen who had voted with the Southerners.

3. THE ORGANIZATION OF THE STATE GOVERNMENT

Now that the struggle in Congress was over, the question immediately arose before the people of Missouri as to who should be the delegates to the convention that should draft the constitution for the new State. This question was almost altogether political rather than personal. The issue was whether the State should put any restriction upon slavery or not. While the question of Missouri's admission into the Union was pending in Congress, the people of the territory were, as we have already seen, practically united against Congress placing

**Election of
Delegates to
the Consti-
tutional
Convention**

**1. State Re-
striction
upon Slavery
— the Issue**

any restrictions on the State with regard to slavery. But in taking this attitude they were not precluded from putting restrictions upon slavery in their own constitution. They could very consistently deny the right of Congress to restrict slavery in the State, and yet place whatever limitations they chose upon it themselves. It would seem from the admissions made regarding slavery while the Missouri question was pending in Congress that the people of the State would be somewhat divided on the matter of State restriction. It was frequently admitted that slavery was a curse and an evil, and the hope was often expressed that national emancipation would eventually be brought about.

**2. No Re-
strictionists
Elected**

But as far as our records go, there were only five out of the fifteen counties in which there was any contest for seats in the convention between those who favored State restriction and those who opposed it. In none of these counties was there elected a single delegate who favored the State placing any restriction upon slavery. Out of the 56,000 white population in Missouri at that time, it has been estimated that there were from 7000 to 11,000 voters, and of this number not more than 1000 voted in favor of State restrictionist delegates.¹ This makes it quite conclusive that the Missourians at that time were largely in favor of maintaining the institution of slavery. There were then over 10,000 slaves in the territory and they represented several millions of dollars in value.

**Personnel
of the
Convention**

It is a matter of interest to know not only on what ticket or platform these delegates were elected in their respective counties, but also something of their personal antecedents and their careers prior to their election. These facts throw some rather interesting sidelights

¹ In the five counties where there were contests, there were 825 State restrictionist votes cast. St. Louis County cast about 400 of these. The only contests that caused any great interest were in St. Louis and Jefferson counties.



upon the work they performed in the convention. It is not possible, however, to give here even a brief sketch of each of the forty-one members of the convention;



JOHN RICE JONES

Delegate to the first constitutional convention of Missouri. Reputed to be the most brilliant member of the convention. From Houck's *History of Missouri*.



EDWARD BATES

Another prominent delegate to the first constitutional convention of Missouri. From Houck's *History of Missouri*.

all that can be done here is to note a few things about these men in their collective capacity.

As regards nationality, the forty-one members represented seven different lines of descent: English, 26; Welsh, 2; Scotch, 2; Irish, 4; Scotch-Irish, 2; French, 2; German, 1.

1. Nationality of Members

As regards place of birth, 33 were born in slave-holding states or territories (Virginia, 13; Kentucky, 8; Maryland, 4; Tennessee, 2; North Carolina, 2; Spanish Upper Louisiana, 2; South Carolina, 1); 6 in free states or territories (Pennsylvania, 3; Indiana Territory, 1; New York, 1; Vermont, 1); and 2 in foreign countries (Wales, 1; Ireland, 1).

2. Place of Birth

As regards the place where the delegates were reared before coming to Missouri, 17 came from Maryland, Virginia, and Kentucky; 8 from Tennessee and North

3. Place of Rearing

Carolina; 5 from Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois; 3 from Pennsylvania and Spanish Upper Louisiana.

1. Occupa-
tion

As regards occupation, the delegates represented six different occupations: law, 9; business, 13; agriculture, 13; medicine, 2; surveying, 2; education, 2. Thirty of these forty-one might be classed as politicians. All but four were men of means, and fourteen were among the wealthiest in the territory. Notwithstanding the small number of lawyers in the convention, the real



MAN-SION HOUSE, ST. LOUIS

Where the first constitutional convention of Missouri held its sessions.

leadership rested with them and with the business men. The most prominent members were David Barton, John Rice Jones, Duff Green, Edward Bates, and Henry Dodge, with John Cook, Jonathan S. Findlay, Alexander McNair, and John Scott as close seconds. All of the forty-one men were of more than average ability.

Work of the
Convention

The convention met in the Mansion House Hotel in St. Louis on June 12, 1820,¹ and organized with David Barton, the most popular man in the convention, as chairman. In a little more than a month the convention

¹ The convention held its meetings in the dining room of this building. After going under different names, the building was torn down between 1880 and 1888. It stood on the northeast corner of the present Third and E streets.



framed and adopted a constitution which went into effect at once without being submitted to the people for their ratification. As this method of procedure in adopting or amending constitutions would not be tolerated to-day, a moment's consideration may properly be given to the reasons why it was followed in Missouri in 1820. From one point of view it would seem as though the refusal of Missouri's convention to submit the new constitution to the people was in accord with the generally accepted custom of the times in such matters. Of the twenty-four state constitutions then in force, only six had been submitted; and of the forty-two constitutional conventions, state and national, that had been held between 1775 and 1820 for the purpose of framing or amending constitutions, only fifteen had submitted to the people the results of their labors. But from

another point of view it appears that the principle of submitting to the people the drafts of constitutions and constitutional amendments was becoming established by 1820, and that the Missouri convention was going against that tendency in refusing to submit the constitution it had drafted. For, if the constitutional conventions that were held in 1775 and 1776 be eliminated from the list of those that were held between 1775 and 1820, the number of conventions that submitted to the people the constitutions which they had drafted remains

1. Adoption of the Constitution without Submitting it to the People



DAVID BARTON

President of the first constitutional convention of Missouri and one of the first two United States Senators from Missouri.

at fifteen, but the number of those that did not do so is reduced to seventeen. Moreover, of all the constitutions and constitutional revisions made by six different states between 1820 and 1830 inclusive, Missouri's is the only one that was not submitted to the people.

If from these considerations it seems proper to conclude that the principle of submitting constitutions to the people for their approval or rejection was becoming established in our political life by 1820, we are forced to find the reasons why the Missouri convention did not follow that principle. They have been summarized by Shoemaker in his *Missouri's Struggle for Statehood* as follows:

"There was no demand on the part of the people for such a referendum or adoption; the people of Missouri Territory wanted an immediate state government without further delay; the delegates possessed the confidence of their constituents; the constitution was generally acceptable; submitting conventions were then the exception in the South; and finally, the convention itself was undoubtedly opposed to such a course."

2. Adoption
of an Ordinance
Accepting the
Five Proposi-
tions of
Congress

The convention was called upon not only to frame a constitution, but also to consider the five propositions that had been made by Congress to the people of Missouri in the Enabling Act of 1820. According to these propositions Congress agreed to make the following grants to the people of Missouri: (1) the sixteenth section in every township for school purposes; (2) all salt springs in the State, not to exceed twelve in number, and six sections of land lying around each of these springs; (3) five per cent of the proceeds from the sale of all public lands in Missouri for the building of canals and public roads in the State and leading to it; (4) four sections of land for a State capital; (5) thirty-six sections of land for a seminary of learning. All these grants were conditional, however, upon the passage of an ordinance by the Missouri constitutional convention providing: (1) that all public

land sold in Missouri after January 1, 1821, should be exempt from all state, county, and township taxes for five years; (2) that all bounty lands granted in Missouri for military service during the War of 1812 should be exempt for three years from the date of the patents, providing these lands were then held by the patentees or their heirs.

After giving these propositions due consideration, an ordinance was passed by the convention accepting them, and, like the constitution, it was made effective without being submitted to the people.¹ This ordinance is still in force. The constitution that was put into operation by the convention in 1820 was superseded by another in 1865 and that in turn by the present one in 1875; but the ordinance passed by this constitutional convention on July 19, 1820, was irrevocable except by the consent of Congress, and it has remained unchanged to this day. It should be noted that the ordinance was not requisite for the admission of Missouri into the Union, but it was necessary if Missouri was to receive any national land grants and money aid for internal improvements, education, and a seat of government.

The Missouri constitution of 1820 divides itself readily into five parts: (1) a preamble; (2) a definition of boundaries; (3) a frame of government, its powers and limitations; (4) a declaration of rights; (5) a schedule.

**Constitution
of 1820**

The preamble is as follows:

“We, the people of Missouri inhabiting the limits hereinafter designated, by our representatives in convention assembled at St. Louis on Monday, the twelfth day of June, 1820, do mutually agree to form and establish a free and independent republic by the name of the State of Missouri, and for the government thereof do ordain and establish this constitution.”

1. Preamble

¹ There is no doubt but that if the convention had submitted the constitution and the ordinance to the people, both would have been almost unanimously adopted.

This preamble is unique in that no other constitution had one that was just like it, though several bore resemblances. The phrase "a free and independent republic" usually attracts undue attention, for while the word "republic" appears in no other constitution, the phrase "a free and independent state" had been employed in at least six different constitutions.¹ No special significance is therefore to be attached to the use of the word "republic" in the Missouri constitution.

2. Boundaries

The boundaries were described in language that is identical with that used in the Enabling Act, and they need not be reviewed again.

3. Frame of Government

The powers of government were divided into three distinct departments, the legislative, the executive, and the judicial.

(a) Legislative Department

The legislative power was vested in a general assembly which was composed of two bodies, a senate and a house of representatives.² The membership of the house of representatives was to consist of representatives elected for two years from the counties in proportion to their population, provided that each county should have at least one representative and that the total number of representatives should not exceed 100. The senate was to be composed of senators elected for four years from senatorial districts, provided there should be not less than 14 senators nor more than 33. No officer of the United States, no priest or clergyman was eligible for membership in the general assembly. The electors were all free white male citizens of the United States over twenty-one years of age, who had resided in the State one year, and in the county in which they voted, three months. General elections were to be held every two years, on the first

¹ These six states were Louisiana, Ohio, Tennessee, Mississippi, Indiana, and Illinois.

² At that time Vermont was the only state that had a one-house legislature.

Monday in August, and sessions of the legislature were to be held biennially.¹

The executive power was vested in a governor, a lieutenant governor, an adjutant general, an auditor, a secretary of state, and a treasurer. The governor was to be elected for a term of four years and was ineligible for reelection for the next four years. His compensation was to be fixed by the legislature, provided it should be not less than \$2000 a year. The lieutenant governor also was to be elected in the same manner as the governor and to act during his term of office as president of the senate. The adjutant general was to be appointed by the governor and might be removed by him at any time. The auditor, the attorney general, and the secretary of state were to be appointed by the governor and the senate for a term of four years. The treasurer was to be appointed by the two houses of the legislature for a term of two years.

(b) Executive Department

The judicial power was vested in a supreme court, a chancellor, circuit courts, and such inferior courts as the legislature might create, and justices of the peace. The three judges of the supreme court and of the circuit courts and the chancellor were to be appointed by the governor and the senate, and were to hold office during good behavior. Their salaries were to be not less than \$2000 each. The supreme court was to have appellate jurisdiction throughout the State and to have general supervision over all inferior courts of law. The circuit courts were to have jurisdiction over criminal cases and civil cases in equity that might arise in their circuits. The court of chancery² was to have original and appellate

(c) Judicial Department

¹ At that time only two states, Illinois and Tennessee, held biennial sessions of their legislatures. All the others held annual sessions.

² There was a great deal of opposition to the chancellor and the court of chancery from the beginning, and they were abolished by a constitutional amendment in 1822.

jurisdiction in all cases of equity. Inferior tribunals were to be established in each county for the transaction of all county business and probate matters.

(d) Local
Officials

Provisions were made for the election of a sheriff and a coroner by the people of each county, and for the appointment of as many justices of the peace in each county as might be thought necessary for the public good.

4. Declara-
tion of
Rights and
Schedule

The declaration of rights, which contained provisions guaranteeing personal liberties, and the schedule, which provided for the transition from the territorial status to that of statehood, need no special elaboration here.

Two matters yet remain for our consideration. First, the men who were chiefly responsible for shaping the constitution which has just been outlined; and second, the sources from which they drew their material.

Framers of
the
Constitution

According to tradition, the honor of framing the constitution belongs primarily to David Barton, who was the chairman of the convention and who shortly afterward was elected as Missouri's first United States Senator. It is true that he wielded a most important influence in the convention by virtue of his official position as chairman and also of his leadership in the political machine. As chairman he appointed all committees of the convention, and as head of the political machine he pulled many of the wires. As a matter of fact, however, the principal authors of the constitution, aside from David Barton, were Edward Bates, John D. Cook, John Rice Jones, Jonathan S. Findlay, and John Scott. "They held first place as introducers of measures, as voters in the convention, and as members of the three most important committees." In order that this statement concerning these men may be better understood, something should be said about the manner in which the convention did its work.

After the convention had effected its organization, a resolution was introduced by Bates providing for the appointment of a single committee to draft a constitution.

This was voted down, however, and a resolution providing for four committees of three members each, to draft different parts of the constitution, was proposed and carried. One of these committees, composed of Jones, Emmons, and Clark, was to draft the legislative department; another, composed of Rector, John Cook, and Evans, the executive department; another, composed of Thomas, Nathaniel Cook, and Bates, the judiciary; and another, composed of Ramsay, Hammond, and Green, the bill of rights.

In two days after these committees had been appointed they reported their drafts, and these, without being read, printed, or discussed in the convention, were, by a vote of the convention, turned over to a select committee composed of four men, one from each of the four committees that had drafted different parts of the constitution. The purpose of this was to put the reports of these four committees into one consistent whole. Jones, Evans, John Cook, and Ramsay were appointed on this committee. On the day following their appointment they submitted to the convention the draft of the constitution which they had made from the reports of the four original committees.

Shortly afterward another committee of three, which might be called the committee on style, was appointed to revise and rearrange the sections of the constitution, as passed by the committee of the whole, without altering in any way their substance. Bates, John Cook, and Findlay were appointed on this committee. There was still another committee, that of enrollment, which was to engross the different articles for the third reading and final passage. Findlay, Cook, and Bates were on this committee.

In addition to these regular committees there were some special committees appointed to consider certain matters that came up during the course of the convention, such as banks, permanent seat of government, and the like.

Of the regular committees the two most important were the select committee and the committee on style, and of the special committees the most important was the one on banks. On looking over the membership of these committees, we find that Jones and Cook were on the select committee, Bates, Cook, and Findlay on the committee on style, and Findlay on the committee on banks. And when we find further that the records of the convention show that Jones, Cook, Bates, and Findlay were generally successful in getting their views on the different questions before the convention adopted, we may well conclude that the honor of being the principal authors of the constitution should be shared by them along with Barton, the chairman, and with Scott, the territorial delegate.

**Sources
of the
Constitution**

With regard to the sources from which the makers of our first constitution got their material, it seems that practically none of it was original but that all of it was borrowed from other existing state constitutions. "In the passing of some parts it is apparent that one or two state constitutions were largely the patterns followed; as regards other parts, it appears that they were selected from first one and then another state's organic law. Naturally the very character of the inhabitants of Missouri predisposed them to follow the Southern type of constitution, especially that of Kentucky and of Alabama, in preference to the Northern type; but this apparently did not in the least hinder the convention from favoring and choosing sections from the constitutions of Maine, Delaware, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, Ohio, or Indiana, and throughout the entire document is seen the great influence exerted by the constitution of Illinois. In fact it appears that, with the exception of Kentucky, the most newly framed constitutions, *e.g.* those of Alabama, Illinois, and Maine, were more influential than the others. Further, it appears that the framers of our constitution strove conscientiously to adopt those provisions, from whatever

source they came, that in their view were the best fitted for guiding Missouri in her future development."

Missouri's statehood, according to Shoemaker, dates from July 19, 1820, the day on which the convention adopted the constitution, although, as we shall presently see, she was not admitted into the Union until more than a year later. On the very day that the constitution was thus adopted by the convention, writs were issued

Missouri, a State, on July 19, 1820



ALEXANDER MCNAIR

First governor of the State of Missouri. From Houck's *History of Missouri*.



JOHN SCOTT

Territorial delegate from Missouri, 1816-20, and Congressman from Missouri, 1820-26. From Houck's *History of Missouri*.

by Mr. Barton, president of the convention, and sent to the sheriffs of the different counties, directing them to arrange for the first general election, which was set for August 28.

Alexander McNair was elected governor, defeating Clark, who at the time was territorial governor, by more than 4000 votes.¹ William Ashley was chosen lieutenant governor by a very close margin in a three-cornered race. John Scott, who had been territorial delegate to Congress ever since 1816, was elected as Representative without

First State Election

¹ The vote for McNair was 6,576; for Clark, 2,556.

opposition. According to the schedule provided for in the constitution, 57 representatives and 14 senators were elected to the general assembly. In some of the counties a great deal of interest was shown in these offices, there being 39 candidates for the general assembly in Howard County and 19 in St. Louis. Only 7 out of the 41 members of the constitutional convention were sent to the general assembly.

The first general assembly convened at the Missouri Hotel in St. Louis on September 18, 1820, and Governor



MISSOURI HOTEL, ST. LOUIS

In this building the first legislature of the State of Missouri convened on September 18, 1820. This hotel stood on the corner of what are now North Main and North streets. It was torn down in 1873.

**First
General
Assembly**

**1. Election
of Barton
and Benton
as United
States
Senators**

McNair and Lieutenant Governor Ashley were inaugurated the next day. Perhaps the most important business that came before that body at its first session was the election of the two United States Senators. This occurred on October 2, when David Barton and Thomas Hart Benton were chosen in joint session of the houses on the first ballot *viva voce*. There were six candidates in the field, Barton, Benton, John B. C. Lucas, Henry Elliott, John R. Jones, and Nathaniel Cook. According to traditional accounts that have long been in circulation and accepted as the truth, Barton was elected unanimously on the first ballot, but Benton was chosen only after

several days had been spent in balloting. The senate journal, however, disproves that story and shows very conclusively that only one ballot was taken and that Barton and Benton were elected at the same time.¹

It must be admitted, however, that Benton's election was secured only by heroic methods and vigorous wire-pulling. It was very evident in advance that Barton would have a safe majority. He was by far the most popular man in the State at that time. But it was seemingly certain that no one of the other candidates would be able to command even a bare majority. Barton seems to have been consulted by his supporters as to whom he would like to have as his colleague, and he expressed a preference for Benton. As there were 52 members of the two houses in attendance at the time the voting was



THOMAS HART BENTON

At the age of 34, four years before he was elected to the United States Senate for the first time. From Houck's *History of Missouri*.

done, 27 votes were necessary for an election. Only 26 votes, however, could be counted upon as safe for Benton. It was therefore imperative to secure one more vote before the election occurred. The member upon whom pressure was brought to bear to support Benton was Marie Philip Leduc. After an all-night conference of men who had interested themselves in favor of Benton, Leduc was induced to promise to support Benton instead of Judge Lucas, who was Benton's strongest rival. It is said that Leduc had been won to the side of Benton through the argument that if Benton was elected he, Leduc,

¹ The vote was as follows: Barton, 34; Benton, 27; Lucas, 16; Elliott, 10; Jones, 9; Cook, 6.

would stand a better chance of getting his Spanish land claims confirmed than if Lucas were elected. Lucas had been for twenty years one of the commissioners for adjusting the titles under these grants to the inhabitants of Upper Louisiana, and as such had been opposed to their confirmation by the United States. If Lucas were elected to the United States Senate, it was said that he would



THE CAPITOL OF MISSOURI AT ST. CHARLES

St. Charles was the temporary capital of Missouri from 1821 to 1826, during which time this building was used as the capitol.

be in a position to block all the more effectively the land claims of Leduc and all others, while, on the other hand, if Benton were elected, he, Benton, would be active in securing laws that would confirm these claims. The winning of Leduc made Benton's election sure provided it occurred immediately. One of Benton's supporters, Daniel Ralls, was mortally ill and his death was momentarily expected. Ralls was rooming upstairs in the hotel where the assembly was sitting, but as he was too sick to sit up or even to lift his head, it was decided to bring him down to the assembly in his bed when the time came to elect senators. Accordingly four large negro men carried the bed downstairs with Ralls in it and thus he was able to cast his vote for Benton. After the ballot had been taken and Benton declared elected, Ralls was carried back to his room, where he very shortly afterward died.¹

¹ During this session the legislature named after Mr. Ralls one of the new counties created at the time.

In addition to the election of the two United States Senators, other matters of importance were transacted by the general assembly at its first session, among which was the selection of St. Charles as the temporary capital until October 1, 1826, and the appointment of a commission of five men to report on the permanent capital.¹ Ten new counties were created² and the three Presidential electors to which Missouri claimed she was entitled were selected. An attempt was made to pass a

2. Other
Business



ANOTHER VIEW OF THE TEMPORARY CAPITOL AT ST. CHARLES
As it looks to-day.

resolution providing for several amendments to the State constitution. The court of chancery and the high minimum salaries were very unpopular throughout the State, but all attempts to get the legislature to pass a resolution providing for constitutional amendments abolishing the court of chancery and reducing salaries failed.

¹ On December 31, 1821, the general assembly passed an act fixing the permanent capital on the banks of the Missouri within 40 miles of the mouth of the Osage River, and gave the name City of Jefferson to the place. The legislature met there for the first time in 1826.

² See pages 79-80.

4. SECOND MISSOURI COMPROMISE AND ADMISSION OF MISSOURI INTO THE UNION

**Second
Missouri
Compromise**

As has already been stated, Missouri was not admitted into the Union until more than a year after her constitution was adopted. The reason for the delay was the objection that members of Congress raised against a certain clause in the constitution of Missouri which provided that it should be the duty of the general assembly to pass such laws as might be necessary "to prevent free

negroes and mulattoes from coming to and settling in the State under any pretext whatsoever." Members of Congress did not have to wait until Missouri's constitution was formally submitted to Congress to find out about this objectionable clause. They had heard about it in advance, and the opponents of Missouri had their minds made up to keep her out of the Union so long as this clause remained in



**1. Objec-
tionable
Clause in
Constitution
Regarding
Free Negroes**

SEAL OF THE STATE OF MISSOURI

Adopted by an act of the legislature approved January 11, 1822. From Houck's *History of Missouri*.

the constitution. Barton, Benton, and Scott soon discovered what the plan of the opponents of Missouri was, for they were not allowed to take their seats as Senators and Representatives until Missouri's constitution was accepted. Scott would have been allowed to be seated as a delegate from the Territory of Missouri, but this he persistently refused. Moreover, Congress refused to accept Missouri's electoral vote except by special arrangement, and would not have done that had it not been that her vote did not affect the final result.¹

¹ The first Presidential electors from Missouri were elected not by the people of the State but by the legislature. This occurred



STRUGGLE OF MISSOURI FOR STATEHOOD 133

The details of the action of Congress need not be related here. It is sufficient to state that after considerable debate and many attempts to settle the matter, a second Missouri Compromise was effected through Clay,

2. Terms of
the Com-
promise



THE CAPITOL AT JEFFERSON CITY FROM 1837 TO 1887

Jefferson City became the capital of Missouri in 1826. A capitol building was erected there in 1825-26 on the site of the present governor's mansion. This was destroyed by fire in 1837. A second capitol was erected in 1837-38 on Capitol Hill, and remained unchanged, as shown in the picture above, until 1887.

whereby Missouri was allowed to come into the Union with the constitution she had adopted; provided, first,

on November 2, 1820, by a joint vote of both houses. The three electors chosen pledged themselves to vote for Monroe.

When the time came for Congress to canvass the results of the election, the question at once arose as to whether Missouri had a right to vote or not. Missouri had not been admitted into the Union as yet, and although her vote would not affect the outcome of the election, the question was deemed a very important one. The same question had arisen in the case of Indiana in 1817. She had not been admitted into the Union at the time of the election in November, 1816, but she had been admitted by the time Congress came to canvass the vote in February, 1817. The decision that was reached then was to count Indiana's vote.

But Missouri's case was not so simple as that of Indiana, inasmuch as Missouri had not yet been admitted at the time Congress canvassed the vote. Congress wrestled with the matter for some

that the objectionable clause should never be construed by the State to authorize the passage of a law by which any citizen of any of the states of the Union should be excluded from the enjoyment of the privileges and immunities to which such a citizen is entitled under the Constitution of the United States; and second, that the legislature of the State by a solemn public act should declare the assent of the State to this fundamental condition. It was further provided that when the President should have received an authorized copy of this solemn public act, he should announce the fact and thereupon the admission of Missouri would be completed.

3. Expressions of Public Opinion in Missouri Regarding Congressional Delay

The situation while this matter was pending in Congress was very trying to Missourians, as may well be imagined. They had a good deal to say, but "the expressions of public opinion were strangely neither boastful nor defiant. Never did Missouri more calmly and determinedly analyze a condition critical to herself and to the nation than at this time. Never was a people more united, more of one thought in their convictions, than were Missourians during the winter of 1820-21. They regarded Missouri as a state, and whether Congress passed an act of admission or not, they were determined she should never again become a territory unless force was used. They thought that Missouri had acted legally when a state constitution was formed and adopted and a state government was established. They saw nothing in Missouri's constitution that was contrary to the United States Constitution, but they said that if by chance there was an illegal pro-

time, but finally decided that if any one objected to Missouri's vote, the result should be reported in two ways: "Were the vote of Missouri to be counted, the result would be for A. B. for President of the United States votes; if not counted, for A. B. for President of the United States votes. But in either event A. B. is elected President of the United States. The same manner for Vice-President."

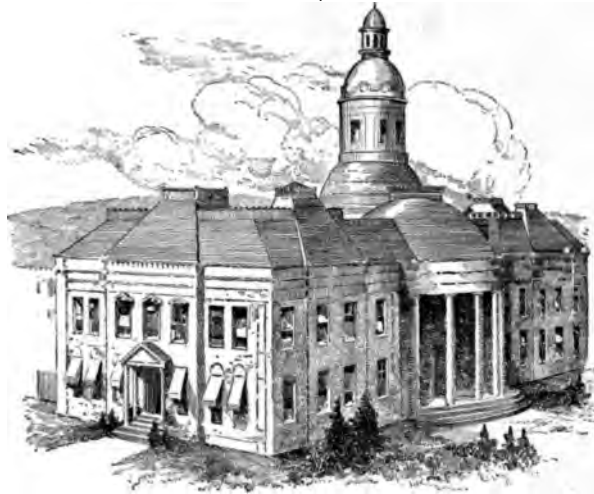


STRUGGLE OF MISSOURI FOR STATEHOOD 135

vision in it, then the interpretation of this was a judicial and not a legislative function. They were convinced that Northern Congressmen were trying to embarrass Missouri, increase the extent of free soil, and impose their will on the slave states.”

When the people of Missouri heard of the passage of the above-mentioned resolution of Congress providing for the admission of Missouri, they were naturally very

4. Rejoicing
in Missouri
on the Re-
ception of
the News



THE CAPITOL AT JEFFERSON CITY FROM 1887 TO 1901

The capitol built in 1837-38 was remodeled and enlarged in 1887-88 as shown in this picture. It was destroyed by fire on February 5, 1911. For a picture of the capitol that was erected in its place, see the last chapter.

joyous. “Their joy, was, however, founded mainly not on the pleasant anticipations of statehood in the Union in a few months, or a relief from suspense regarding what might have been Missouri’s fate, but was founded on the defeat of the Eastern slavery restrictionists. Missouri took more delight in seeing her Eastern enemies defeated than in the good obtained from her victory.” The people of Missouri also took great pride in “having maintained a consistent position of independent statehood

ever since the adoption of their constitution" in spite of the effort that had been made to deny Missouri that status.

solemn
public Act
the
general
assembly
Missouri

On June 4 a special session of the legislature was convened at St. Charles and the resolution of Congress was formally submitted to that body by Governor McNair. He recommended that the resolution immediately be considered and that such legislative act as might be required by it should be passed, "carefully avoiding at the same time everything that might impair our political rights or draw in question the dignity and independent character of the State."

There was in the general assembly some opposition to compliance with the resolution of Congress, but this was easily overcome, and the solemn public Act was duly framed and approved on June 26, 1821. The language of this Act is such as to show very clearly that the legislature knew it was performing a farce and that, after Missouri should have acquired admission into the Union, it could undo what it was then doing and be perfectly safe therein. After reciting what Congress had laid down as a prerequisite condition for admission, the Act continues :

Provisions
the Act

"Now, for as much as the good people of this State have, by the most solemn and public act in their power, virtually assented to the said fundamental condition, when by their representatives in full and free convention assembled, they adopted the constitution of this State, and consented to be incorporated into the Federal Union, and governed by the Constitution of the United States, which among other things provides that the said Constitution, and the laws of the United States made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made, or which shall be made under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land, and the judges in every state shall be bound thereby, anything in the constitution or law of any state to the contrary notwithstanding ; and

although this general assembly are of opinion that the Congress of the United States have no constitutional power to annex any condition to the admission of this State into the Federal Union, and that this general assembly have no power to change the operation of the constitution of this State, except in the manner prescribed by the constitution itself; nevertheless, as the Congress of the United States have desired this general assembly to declare the assent of this State to said fundamental condition, and forasmuch as such declaration will neither restrain, nor enlarge, limit or extend the operation of the Constitution of the United States, or of this State, but the said constitution will remain in all respects as if the said resolution had never passed, and the desired declaration was never made, and because such declaration will not divest any power or change the duties of any of the constituted authorities of this State, or of the United States, nor impair the rights of the people of this State, or impose any additional obligation upon them, but may promote an earlier enjoyment of their vested federal rights, and this State being moreover determined to give to her sister states, and to the world, the most unequivocal proof of her desire to promote the peace and harmony of the Union. Therefore, Be it enacted and declared by the General Assembly of the State of Missouri, and it is hereby solemnly and publicly enacted and declared, that this State has assented and does assent that the fourth clause of the twenty-sixth section of the third article of the constitution of this State shall never be construed to authorize the passage of any law, and that no law shall be passed in conformity thereto, by which any citizen of the United States shall be excluded from the enjoyment of any of the privileges and immunities to which such citizens are entitled under the Constitution of the United States."

Although Missourians both in and out of the general assembly appreciated the hollowness of the fundamental

2. Observance of the Act until 184

solemn public act condition which Congress imposed, and although they realized that legally there was no binding force to that act, it must be said to their credit that they recognized its moral force for more than twenty-five years, and that they did not violate it until 1847. Up to that time no law was passed by the Missouri legislature which excluded free negroes and mulattoes from emigrating from any other state to Missouri.

mission
he State
, the
ion

On receiving an authentic copy of the solemn public act of the Missouri legislature, President Monroe on August 16, 1821, issued the proclamation declaring the admission of Missouri into the Union as the twenty-fourth member of the United States.

REFERENCES

The material for this chapter has been drawn largely from Shoemaker's *Missouri's Struggle for Statehood*. This book is a work of great scholarship and supersedes everything else that has ever been written on the subject. Most of the sources on which it is based were brought to light by the author in his researches. He is chiefly concerned with the views and opinions of Missourians during the contest over the question as to whether Missouri should be admitted into the Union or not, and with the organization of Missouri's first state government. He pays little attention to the Congressional controversy.

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GOVERNOR ALEXANDER McNAIR'S HOUSE

CHAPTER VII

EARLY BANKING IN MISSOURI

[*Historical Setting.* — Panic of 1837. This chapter covers the history of banking in Missouri from 1813 to 1857 and presupposes a general knowledge of the history of the First and the Second Banks of the United States.]

**Present
Banking
System in
Missouri**

THERE are in Missouri at present more than 1500 banks and trust companies.¹ Excluding the two federal banks in the State, the capital stock of the various banking institutions in Missouri is more than ninety-five million dollars, their deposits are more than six hundred million dollars, and their loans amount to more than six hundred fifty million dollars. It is a very small village, indeed, that does not have a bank of some sort. All the banks receive deposits and make loans, while only the national and the federal reserve banks issue notes that circulate as currency. We have become so accustomed to the conveniences which the banks afford that we scarcely realize their great value. If, however, by some means all the banks should be eliminated from our commercial system, we should immediately come to understand how vital they are to our prosperity.

**Early
Barter
System**

Banking in Missouri is, however, just a little more than one hundred years old, the first bank having been established in St. Louis in 1816, about fifty years after that place had been founded. Prior to 1816, business in Missouri was transacted largely by barter, the chief

¹ The banks and trust companies in Missouri at present (1918) are enumerated as follows: 14 private banks, 1309 incorporated banks, 75 trust companies, 132 national banks, and 2 federal reserve banks.

media of exchange being furs, lead, and tobacco.¹ Farming was the one chief occupation of the people of Missouri. But as they had no adequate means of getting their agricultural products to market readily, there was a constant shortage of money, and hence it was necessary to resort to barter; and to supplement their main occupation many turned to other things, the most important of which was the fur business. Some men became traders, and others were trappers and hunters. As a result, furs were the commodity most generally used in barter. "All skins good enough for trade were considered good enough for currency," deerskins being taken as the standard because they were abundant and most steady in value. Skins used as currency were carefully counted and tied up in bundles and kept in warehouses.

Furs and pelts were more easily carried to distant markets than grain, and it was generally through the fur trade that what little money there was in circulation in Missouri was brought into the country. But not every cargo of furs sent to market was disposed of for money. Many a shipment of furs was exchanged for a consignment of commodities most needed in Missouri, such as dry goods, sugar, coffee, and hardware; and sometimes this return consignment would be months or even years in arriving, owing to the poor transportation facilities of the time.

The Spanish milled dollar was the most common coin in circulation in Missouri, and for small change this dollar was actually cut into halves, quarters, and "bits" or half-

¹ The following typical advertisement in the *Missouri Gazette* for April 26, 1810, is illustrative of the system of barter then in vogue: "The subscriber has just opened a quantity of bleached country linen, cotton cloth, cotton and wool cards, iron, German steel, smoothing irons, ladies' silk bonnets, artificial flowers, etc. Also a handsome new gig with plated harness, cable and cordelle rope, with a number of articles that suit this country. He will take in payment fur, hides, whisky, country-made sugar, bacon, and beeswax."

quarters. Sometimes due bills were issued by the fur traders and were accepted as money by people not only at home but even at a distance.

**First Banks
in Missouri**

With the increase of population that ensued after the purchase of Louisiana, and with the growth in agriculture and commerce, it became more and more necessary to establish a better system of currency in what is now Missouri than had formerly prevailed. In addition to the impossibility of doing business on a large scale with commodities as the most common medium of exchange, there was also more or less uncertainty as to the exact value of these commodities, and there was the constant danger of the unscrupulous making use of inferior articles and representing them as being up to standard. Frequent attempts were made to prevent this form of cheating, especially in furs, and regulations regarding their weight were made from time to time.

**1. Bank of
St. Louis and
Bank of
Missouri**

The necessities of the situation led the territorial legislature to charter the Bank of St. Louis in 1813, with a capital not to exceed \$165,000,¹ and in 1817 to charter the Bank of Missouri, with a capital stock of \$250,000.² In addition to doing a regular banking business, such as receiving deposits and making loans, both institutions were authorized to issue notes that were to circulate as currency, and both were instrumental in stimulating business at home and abroad. But neither of these banks lasted very long. The Bank of St. Louis failed in 1819, owing to some unfortunate speculation investments, and the Bank of Missouri went the same way in 1822.

**2. Collapse
of these
Banks**

In fact, the period from 1815 to 1819 was marked by a great amount of reckless speculation all over the country, particularly in the newer parts. There was a great mania for buying and selling property, especially land. Immigrants frequently bought much more land than they could

¹ This Bank of St. Louis was not established, however, till 1816.

² It is interesting to note the prominence that the French citizens of St. Louis had among the stockholders of these two banks.

hope to pay for, and yet trusted to some turn of fortune in their favor which would enable them to meet their obligations. They also made large purchases from merchants on long-time credit. When, therefore, the country-wide panic occurred in 1819, much distress ensued in Missouri. Everybody was in debt and the banks were not able to redeem their notes. Merchants could not get their debtors to pay them in specie, and the farmers got little or nothing for their abundant crops and harvest. Although a certain amount of relief was given when the United States Government passed laws extending the time of payment, and when the State government issued loan certificates, the panic was nevertheless very disastrous and was responsible for the undoing of the newly established banking system of Missouri.

It was not till 1829 that Missouri had another bank. In that year a branch of the United States Bank was established in St. Louis. It had in turn several branches throughout the State, and it gave the people a safer and more convenient currency than they had been having. But it was forced to wind up its business when, on account of Jackson's veto of the bill to renew the charter of the United States Bank, the parent institution went out of business in 1836.¹ The veto of Jackson produced considerable agitation in St. Louis. A very vigorous protest against it was framed by a meeting of representative citizens on July 24, 1832. It should be noted, however, that this protest did not represent the views of everybody in St. Louis, for on the evening of the same day another group held a meeting in that city and expressed their decided approval of Jackson's procedure.

But St. Louis had become a city of 6000 people by 1836, and steamboats were plying between it and New Orleans, Louisville, Cincinnati, Pittsburgh, and Galena. It was therefore impossible, under these conditions, for the

**United
States Bank
in St. Louis**

**Bank of the
State of
Missouri**

¹ It is rather significant that the bank closed its business with a loss of only \$125.

1. Need for
a Bank

city to go on without good banking facilities. The Cincinnati Commercial Agency established a branch in St. Louis in 1836, but this was soon found insufficient for the needs of the community. Moreover, the State was flooded at this time with paper money from the banks of other states, which was popularly called "shinplasters," "wildcat" currency, or "dog" currency.¹ This paper money was issued by the various banks on the supposition that they would redeem it in specie on demand. But, as is generally known, most of these banks were more or less unsound and their notes were therefore more or less valuable. Because of the uncertainty in value of this paper currency that was circulating in Missouri, the Mexican silver coins which were being brought into the State through the Sante Fé trade² were being driven out, as always happens when cheap money begins to circulate in a community. Missouri was the only state in the Union at that time that did not have one or more banks of issue, and yet because of the wide circulation of the paper money issued by the more or less unsound banks of other states, Missouri was suffering from "all the evils of banking with none of its advantages." In order, therefore, to facilitate commerce and give it a chance to develop, and further to thwart the evils of wildcat currency, and to aid specie circulation in the State, men began in 1836 to demand that the legislature — acting upon the authority which the constitution of the State had conferred upon it — should charter a bank.

2. Chartered
by the
Legislature,
1837

Fortunately for Missouri, the constitutional convention of 1820 had been very conservative in making provisions for a bank. This was probably due to the country-wide panic of 1819. At any rate, the convention inserted

¹ This paper currency was called "white dog," "red dog," "blue dog," or "blue pup," according to the color of the paper that was used.

² For details concerning this trade, see Chapter IX.

in the constitution an article on banking which gave the legislature authority to incorporate only one banking company in the State, with not more than five branches. The capital stock was not to exceed five million dollars, one half of which was to be reserved for the use of the State. Attempts were made at the first session of the State legislature in 1820, and also at the next session, to get a bill passed which would provide for a bank under this constitutional provision, but these efforts failed, and it was not until 1837 that the legislature took advantage of the authority which the constitution had conferred upon it to authorize the opening of a State bank.¹ The bill providing for the bank went through the legislature within thirty days after it was introduced, and the stock was all subscribed for within two months after it had been placed on sale, thus revealing that people had complete confidence in the bank.²

The management of this bank thus created in 1837 was in the hands of a president and twelve directors, of whom the president and six directors were to be elected by the legislature every two years. In addition to the semi-annual statements which the bank had to make to the government, there were ample provisions for its periodical examination. The bank could not issue notes of less than \$10 in value, and whenever it should cease to redeem its notes in specie it was to go at once into the hands of a receiver. The charter was to run until 1857, but no longer.

At the same time that the legislature authorized the creation of a bank, it passed another law expelling all the

¹ Missouri went through the panic of 1837, which had been brought on largely by the winding up of the affairs of the United States Bank, much better than most states. Probably this had something to do with influencing the legislature to charter the Bank of the State of Missouri that year.

² It took two years to sell enough of the stock of the old Bank of St. Louis to get it opened.

foreign banking agencies in the State and prohibiting any other from entering. The Cincinnati Commercial Agency thereupon withdrew from the State and turned over its business to the newly created bank.

4. Effects of
the Panic of
1837 on the
Bank

The Bank of the State of Missouri proved to be a thriving and beneficial institution from the start. Its notes were accepted as good as gold everywhere, and, in some places they were considered even better than gold. It was put to a very severe test within two years of its establishment. On October 8, 1837, the banks of Philadelphia suspended specie payment and in a short time all the banks of the South and West, except the one in Missouri, did likewise. The directors of the Bank of the State of Missouri met and ordered that as far as bank notes were concerned they would in future pay out and receive only the notes of those institutions that were specie paying. This order produced much excitement in St. Louis¹ and throughout the State. There was in circulation in Missouri a great deal of currency issued by banks that had suspended specie payment. If such currency was refused by the Bank of the State of Missouri, that meant a further depreciation in its current value. Several wealthy men offered to bind themselves to stand good for any losses that the bank might sustain in taking the notes of those institutions that had suspended specie payment, but the directors declined to

¹The *Missouri Republican* said: "The bank excitement continued very high yesterday. In fact, it is the only subject matter of conversation or consideration. The inhabitants, it might literally be said, have forsaken their counting rooms and the mechanics their shops. Wherever two or three met, the action of the bank was a theme of conversation, and in every circle that we have fallen in with, whatever might be the politics of those composing it, the resolution of the directors was condemned without measure or reserve. In truth, there never has been in the country so universal and unanimous a condemnation of any measure as this. Execrations loud and deep are freely uttered in every quarter and by men of all parties."

accept their offer or to modify their order. Many people thereupon withdrew their deposits from the bank and put them with the insurance companies that were doing a kind of banking business in the city.

Under these circumstances efforts were made to get the legislature to do something toward driving out the wildcat currency that was flooding the State. In 1838 a bill levying very heavy penalties against any one who should pass or receive any banknotes of less than \$20, other than those of the Bank of the State of Missouri, was introduced into the legislature, but it failed of passage. The bill was introduced again in 1840 with the same result. However, in 1842, two bills were passed against the use of such currency, but the penalties for using it were assessed only against corporations, money lenders, and exchange brokers. There was too much of this form of money in the hands of people to shut them out from using it altogether, but the circulation was considerably restricted by the fining of the corporations, money lenders, and exchange brokers if they undertook to make use of it.¹

5. Laws
against the
Use of
"Wildcat"
Currency

But during the forties and fifties the need for greater and better banking facilities in Missouri grew very rapidly. The State was not only developing her own resources, but the regions lying to the west as far as the coast were going through the pioneer stage during this period, and they depended very largely upon Missouri as the center of most of their trade. These conditions not only demanded greater facilities for depositing money for safekeeping and for making loans and effecting exchange, but also demanded some sort of means for increasing the volume of currency. The Bank of the State of Missouri was for ten years the only bank of any sort in the State, but in

Banking
Law of 1857
1. Need for
More Banks
of Issue

¹ By the time this law was passed the Bank of the State of Missouri had rescinded its action of 1839 and had decided to receive and pay out the paper of other banks at its current value, whether those banks had suspended specie payment or not.

1847 the Boatmen's Saving Institution was established in St. Louis.¹ This was a purely savings institution and had no right to issue bank bills. Several other private banks were established in the State, in the decade after 1847, merely to accommodate the people by receiving their money on deposit and by making loans to them. The only institution in Missouri that could issue bills between 1837 and 1857 was the Bank of the State of Missouri.

2. Constitutional Amendment

From this it may readily be seen that Missouri's greatest need was to increase the number of banks that could issue paper currency on a safe and sound basis. But a constitutional provision which limited the authority of the legislature to the chartering of only one bank and no more stood in the way. This obstacle was removed in 1857, when the constitution of the State was amended so as to authorize additional banks of issue.² But, true to the conservative spirit that has always marked Missourians, the amendment limited the number of parent banks to ten, and provided that their capital should never exceed \$20,000,000, and that the notes issued on the basis of \$2 in currency to \$1 of paid-up capital should always be redeemable on demand.

3. Creation of New Banks

Under this constitutional authority the legislature authorized six parent banks in St. Louis (Merchants, Mechanics, Southern, Exchange, Union, and Bank of St. Louis) and one in Lexington (Farmers), and made them subject to close and rigid inspection. The notes of these banks went into circulation and immediately

¹ This bank still exists in St. Louis under the name of Boatmen's Bank.

² In 1852 a committee of the legislature examined the condition of the Bank of the State of Missouri and its eight branches. They found that its assets were nearly \$4,000,000 and that the outstanding circulation of notes was nearly \$1,500,000. The thriving condition of the bank was very reassuring and no doubt had much to do with the passing of the constitutional amendment of 1857 authorizing more than one State bank.

expelled all the "wildcat" and "dog" currency then in use in the State. They remained in circulation until the National Bank Law of 1864, which levied a tax of ten per cent on the notes of state banks, went into effect and forced these notes to be withdrawn. All of the six banks of St. Louis that had been authorized under the law of 1857 were, in the course of time, transformed into National banks.

The new banking law of 1857 went into operation under decidedly adverse auspices. Another panic broke out in that year as the result of the failure of the Ohio Life and Trust Company of Cincinnati. This failure forced the banks throughout the country, including those of Missouri, to suspend specie payment. The banks in Missouri did not have time to recover from the ill effects of this panic before the Civil War came on, and it was not till after the close of the war that specie payment was resumed by them. The legislature very wisely refused to demand the forfeiture of their charters as the constitution provided should be done if they suspended specie payment, but allowed them to continue to exist. As a result of this action, these banks weathered the storm and have all continued down to this day.

Before the law of 1857 was passed, private banks had been established in St. Joseph and in Kansas City. In 1856 the first bank of Kansas City was established by Northrup and Chick. At that time Kansas City was an insignificant place, and the people in that part of the State had been accustomed to do their banking at Lexington or Liberty or Independence. In 1852 the first bank was established in St. Joseph by Armstrong Beattie. At that time the place was only nine years old.

In concluding this chapter on early banking in Missouri, a word or two should be said about the later history of the Bank of the State of Missouri, which had been organized in 1837. It underwent an important change in 1866, when the State sold its shares of stock to a number

4. Effects of
the Panic
of 1857

Private
Banks in
St. Joseph
and Kansas
City

End of the
Bank of the
State of
Missouri

of men, and the bank was transformed into a National bank with eight different branches. It did not prosper, however, and wound up its affairs in 1876, going out of business entirely.

It is evident, from what has been said, that Missouri was decidedly fortunate as regards banks and banking. Thanks to Missouri conservatism, the greatest safeguards were thrown around banking in the State, and as a result Missouri banks were never classed as "wild-cat" institutions. In this respect Missouri stands alone among the states of the Union.

REFERENCES

Knox, *History of Banking in the United States*, pp. 779-793. The first part of this book deals with the history of national banking; the second part with the history of banking in the different states. The reference given above is devoted to the history of banking in Missouri from earliest times to about 1900. *Encyclopedia of Missouri History*, vol. i, pp. 116-132. A series of short articles on banking in Missouri in early days and in the principal cities of the State in later days.



OLD PONTOON BRIDGE AT ST. CHARLES



CHAPTER VIII

EXPEDITIONS OF KEARNY AND DONIPHAN

[*Historical Setting.* — The War between the United States and Mexico, 1846-48.]

THE war between the United States and Mexico in 1846-48 was very popular in Missouri. This was due to the great interest that Missourians took in the question of the annexation of Texas, which was the primary cause of the war. It is not the intention here to go into the details of the revolt of Texas from Mexico in 1836, or of her annexation to the United States in 1845. But it must be noted that the question of the annexation of Texas was the chief issue in the Presidential campaign of 1844, and that the people of Missouri gave Polk, the Democratic candidate, who had come out squarely in favor of annexation, a very decided majority as against Clay, the Whig candidate, who did not commit himself unreservedly in the matter.

Interest of Missourians in the Annexation of Texas

Two reasons, at least, may be assigned as to why Missourians were interested in the annexation of Texas to the United States: first, their belief in the "manifest destiny" of the country to incorporate ultimately all the territory adjoining her borders, especially that on the west; second, the close blood relationship between the people of Missouri and of Texas. Shortly after the revolt of Mexico from Spain in the early twenties, Missourians began to migrate to Texas, and by the time Texas had begun her war of independence against Mexico in 1835, there were a goodly number of Missouri colonists in Texas. Moreover, the struggle against Mexico induced a great many Missou-

1. Belief in "Manifest Destiny"

2. Blood Relationship between the People of Missouri and Texas

rians to join their fortunes with the Texans, so that it is safe "to assert that between 1822 and 1836 there were few prominent Missouri families that were not at some time represented in the life of the new state." Naturally, then, Missourians were interested in having Texas annexed to the Union, and were willing to engage in war to see that end accomplished.

No Interest in the Extension of Slave Territory

It has been asserted that Missourians desired the annexation of Texas as a means of extending slave territory, but that can hardly be assigned as a leading motive with them. "Certainly as far as the people of Missouri were concerned, the extension of the slave area was so little thought of at this time that but for the prominence given to it by the opponents of annexation, it would not have entered into their calculations." And the Missourians were very careful to let it be known that they were not for annexation because of their interest in the expansion of slave territory. This is seen in the resolution adopted by the legislature in 1844, in which it was declared that the existence of slavery "ought to be left to the people who now, or may hereafter, occupy the territory that may be annexed." At the same time it was declared that they deemed the annexation of Texas so essential to the interest of the State and of the United States "that, rather than fail in the consummation of this object, they will consent to such just and reasonable compromises as may be indispensably necessary to secure the accompaniment of the measure, and preserve the peace and harmony of the Union."

First Volunteers or the Mexican War

On hearing of the outbreak of hostilities between the United States and Mexico in the region between the Rio Grande and Nueces rivers in April, 1846, Missourians began to get themselves ready to take part in the war, and when a call came from General Gaines, who was in command of the military department of New Orleans, for volunteers to go to the assistance of General Taylor on the border between Texas and Mexico, a regiment of 650 men

was quickly raised in Missouri and started down the Mississippi on its way to the seat of war. But these men were destined never to see any actual service, for General Gaines' action was disavowed at Washington, and all the troops that came at his call from Missouri and other states were discharged and sent home at the end of three months.

But if the Missouri troops that had gone south at the call of General Gaines were disappointed in being sent back, an opportunity meanwhile was offered Missourians for service in another direction. Congress passed an Act in May, 1846, authorizing the President to call into the field 50,000 volunteers, who were designed to operate against Mexico at three points. Taylor was to penetrate directly into the heart of the country with the Army of the South; Wool was to operate against Chihuahua with the Army of the Center; and Kearny was to march from Santa Fé with the Army of the West. This plan of operation was subsequently modified, especially as to the movements of the Southern and Central armies. But inasmuch as the Army of the West was made up largely of Missourians, we shall confine our attention here to its movements.

Preparation
for the
Santa Fé
Expedition

There were two very pertinent reasons why our Government sent an expedition against Santa Fé. First, Santa Fé was the terminus of the trail along which a large part of the commerce between the western portion of the United States and Mexico had been passing for twenty years or more. In the succeeding chapter this matter will be dealt with fully. Second, it was the political capital of the Mexican province of New Mexico.¹ For economic and political reasons, therefore, it was good policy for our Government to send an expedition to Santa Fé after war against Mexico had been decided upon.

1. Reasons
for the
Expedition

¹ New Mexico was a vast stretch of country about 200,000 square miles in area on either side of the Upper Rio Grande. It had a population of 160,000 people, one third of whom were the Pueblo Indians. Santa Fé had a population of about 6000.

2. Gathering
of Troops
at Fort
Leavenworth

About the middle of May, 1846, Governor Edwards of Missouri issued a call for volunteers to join the expedition to Santa Fé. The volunteers were to gather at Fort Leavenworth and the expedition was to be conducted by Colonel Stephen W. Kearny of the First Dragoons of the United States Army. In response to this call eight mounted companies were formed in eight different counties of the State (Jackson, Lafayette, Clay, Saline,



COLONEL STEPHEN W. KEARNY

From Stevens' *Missouri, the Center State*, by permission of the Missouri Historical Society.

Franklin, Cole, Howard, and Callaway), with a total enlistment of 856, and in addition there were formed a battalion of light artillery of two companies from St. Louis, numbering 250 men, and a battalion of infantry from the counties of Cole and Platte, composed of 145 men. Besides these volunteer contingents there were the First Dragoons of the regular United States Army, numbering 300, and the Laclede Rangers from St. Louis, numbering 107, who were attached to the Dra-

goons. There were in all 1658 men under the immediate command of Colonel Kearny, all of whom, except the 300 Dragoons, were Missourians. Kearny, himself, was a citizen of Missouri.

3. Election
of Doniphan
as Colonel

Before starting out for Santa Fé the eight companies which composed the First Regiment of Missouri Mounted Volunteers elected Alexander William Doniphan of Clay County as their colonel, with the understanding that if Colonel Kearny should die or become disabled, Doniphan should succeed to the command of the entire expedition.

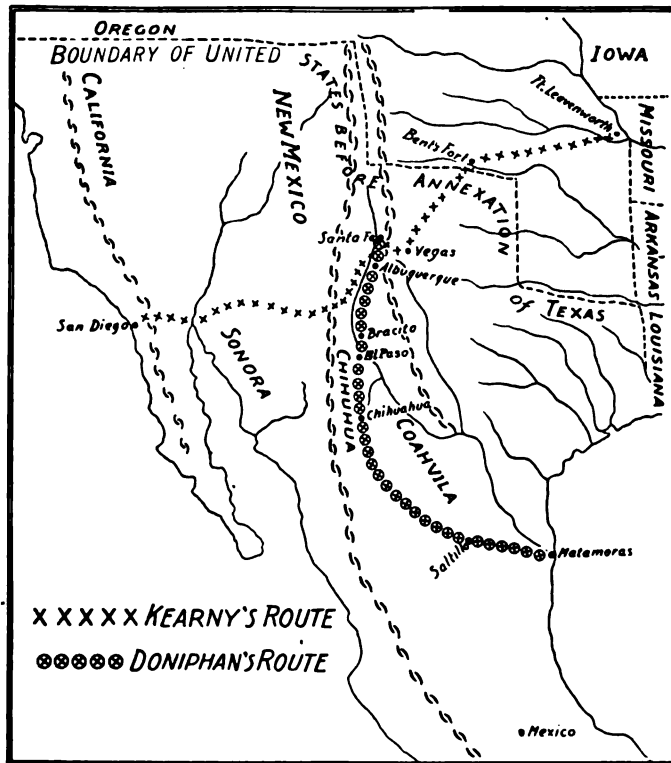
On the 26th day of June, 1846, the main body of this



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Army of the West set out from Fort Leavenworth for Santa Fé, about 100 wagons loaded with provisions for the troops having been sent on in advance. The progress was very slow until the Santa Fé trail was reached, about 65 miles west of Independence, the starting point of the

March to Santa Fé



KEARNY AND DONIPHAN'S EXPEDITION, 1846-47

trail. This slowness was due to the fact that "there was no road or even a path leading from Fort Leavenworth into the regular Santa Fé trail." Traveling was therefore a very difficult thing. Deep ravines and creeks with steep banks, tall grass and soft ground were some of the things encountered by the troops. Most of their time was spent

i. Difficulties of the March

in making roads and constructing temporary bridges. The trail was finally reached early in July, and thereafter progress became somewhat more rapid. On August 18 Santa Fé was reached, Colonel Kearny's army having made the march of about 900 miles in less than fifty days.

The advance of the troops along the trail was not made, however, without considerable difficulty and many hardships. The heat at times was very oppressive, especially in crossing what was known as the Great American Desert, and the men and their horses frequently suffered from very great thirst. They were also very much annoyed by gnats and mosquitoes during part of the march, and while they were passing through the desert the wind-driven sand "filled their eyes and nostrils and mouths almost to suffocation," besides making marching exceedingly difficult. Swollen streams had to be bridged and underbrush cut away. There was always more or less danger from wolves and Indians. During the last third of the march the rations were cut down first to one half and later to one third of the normal amount, so that the men suffered greatly from hunger. Many men and horses died along the way.

2. Entry into
Santa Fé

When the Mexican governor heard of the approach of Kearny's army, he assembled his troops, amounting to 7000 men — 2000 of whom were well armed — at a pass fifteen miles from Santa Fé, with the intention of giving battle. But when Kearny came up to the pass, he found that the Mexican force had completely disappeared. It is said that a dispute had arisen among the Mexican generals as to who should have the supreme command, and that the soldiers had seized the opportunity to desert. However that may have been, Kearny with less than 2000 Americans was able to march to Santa Fé and enter it unopposed, and to take "peaceable and undisputed possession of the country without the loss of a single man or the shedding of one drop of blood in the name of the United States."

On the day after he took possession of Santa Fé, Kearny

issued a proclamation whereby he annexed the province of New Mexico to the United States as the territory of New Mexico. He then committed to Colonel Doniphan and Willard P. Hall, another Missourian and a private in one of the companies, the task of drafting a constitution and a body of laws to govern the newly acquired territory, and on receiving the draft from them he ordered it to be proclaimed and enforced.¹ Furthermore, he appointed Charles Bent of Bent's Fort,² another Missourian, to be governor of the territory.

3. Kearny's
Proclamation
Annexing
New Mexico

There is considerable doubt as to whether Kearny had any authority to do all these things. In fact President Polk, in a communication to Congress regarding this expedition, speaks of "the exercise of an excess of power" on the part of Kearny, but justifies it on the ground that it was "the offspring of a patriotic desire to give the inhabitants the privileges and immunities so cherished by the people of our own country." Notwithstanding the lack of authority for these acts by Kearny, they were not repudiated.

About a month after his arrival at Santa Fé, Kearny set out for California with his 300 dragoons to cooperate with other forces that the United States Government was sending to that region for the purpose of effecting its conquest. We are not concerned here with the history of this California expedition, and shall have nothing further to say about it, except that Kearny reached San Diego early in December and was very successful in his operations in what is now southern California.

Kearny's
Expedition
to California

On September 28, three days after Kearny's departure from Santa Fé for California, Colonel Sterling Price arrived

¹ The constitution and the laws of the new territory of New Mexico were compiled largely from those of Missouri and Texas.

² Bent's Fort was situated on the Arkansas River in what is now southeastern Colorado, not very far from La Junta. Kearny rested his men near this fort for three days while advancing on Santa Fé.

Price's Expedition to Santa Fé

in Santa Fé with the Second Missouri Mounted Volunteers that had been raised by the order of the President as a reinforcement to Kearny. About 1200 men from Boone, Benton, Carroll, Chariton, Linn, Livingston, Monroe, Randolph, Ste. Genevieve, and St. Louis counties volunteered their services and gathered at Fort Leavenworth, from which place they set out for Santa Fé between the first and the tenth of August.¹ Price was a member of Congress from Missouri when the war broke out, but he resigned shortly afterward and was appointed by the President to take command of these reinforcements.²

Doniphan's Expedition against the Navajos

Price, as has been said, reached Santa Fé in the latter part of September, having been a little more than fifty days in making the journey. His arrival made it possible for Doniphan, who had been left in charge of affairs at Santa Fé after the departure of Kearny for California, to move to Chihuahua and there join General Wool, who was supposed to have been moving to that point from some place in Texas. But before Doniphan could get ready to go to Chihuahua, an order was sent back to him from Kearny to march against the Navajos, who had been committing a great many outrages, and who had refused to come in and acknowledge the United States Government.

¹ At about this time Captain Allen of the First Dragoons succeeded in organizing among the Mormons then living in and around Council Bluffs, Iowa, a force of 500 men, all volunteer infantry, for service in California. This force was brought to Fort Leavenworth and set out on its journey to California, following Price as far as Santa Fé.

² Immediately after Price left Fort Leavenworth for Santa Fé, another requisition was made on the government of Missouri for 1000 additional volunteers to join Kearny in New Mexico. This new force, which was to be called the Third Regiment of Missouri Volunteers, was to be all infantry and was to gather at Fort Leavenworth as the other regiments had done. The requisite number was soon brought together and Major Daugherty of Clay County was elected colonel of the regiment. But, greatly to the disappointment of these volunteers, they were shortly ordered to disband and return to their homes. There seemed to be no need for them.

The Navajos were a very warlike people, perhaps the most martial of all the Indians of the southwestern country, and out of their population of about 12,000 they were able to muster 1500 warriors. They ranged over the country lying between the Rio Grande and the Colorado rivers, most of which was very mountainous and rugged.

As winter was rapidly coming on and as the mountains would soon become impassable on account of the heavy snows, Doniphan decided to carry out Kearny's order at once. He therefore divided his command into three sections and ordered them to advance into the heart of the Navajo country along three different routes. Major Gilpin was in charge of one part, Lieutenant Colonel Jackson of another, and Colonel Doniphan of the third. The orders were to chastise the Navajos wherever they appeared hostile, and to take their chiefs as hostages where they appeared to be peaceably inclined. With that done, the three sections were to join their forces at Bear Springs.

The advance of these different divisions was accomplished under very great difficulty. The troops were not properly equipped for an expedition into a mountainous country at that season of the year, and they were forced to endure great hardships all the way. This was particularly true of the men under Gilpin. Their difficulties were increased many times by the heavy snows that fell

1. Severe Suffering of the Men



COLONEL A. W. DONIPHAN

From Vida Smith's *Young People's History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints*.

while they were going over the mountains, and by the extremely cold weather.

**2. Suppres-
sion of the
Navajos**

In due time, however, the three divisions met at the appointed place, Bear Springs, and a treaty was finally made with the Navajos by which they agreed that they would thereafter keep the peace not only with the Americans, but also with the people of New Mexico and with the Pueblo Indians. Doniphan had some difficulty in explaining to the Navajos how it was that he was defending the people whom he had come out to fight. For years the Navajos had made war on the New Mexicans, and since the United States had invaded New Mexico it seemed proper to them that Doniphan should join his troops with them in continuing the war with the Mexicans. But when Doniphan explained that the situation was altogether changed because of the surrender of New Mexico to the United States, the Navajos agreed to the treaty of peace. Probably Doniphan's show of military force had something to do with bringing the Navajos to terms.

**Doniphan's
Expedition
through
Mexico**

Having performed the mission that had been imposed upon him by Kearny, Doniphan then returned to his headquarters on the Rio Grande, and after giving his men a few days' rest, began his advance to the south upon Chihuahua, about the middle of December, 1846. To facilitate the march across the Great Desert, he divided his men into three detachments and started them out at different intervals. Major Gilpin led off with 300 men, Lieutenant Colonel Jackson followed with 200 men, and Doniphan brought up the rear with the rest. The men suffered a great deal in passing through this desert, which was called by the Mexicans, "The Journey of the Dead." The weather became extremely cold and the men were not able to find any water to drink or any wood with which to build fires. But, by forced marches they got through the desert in three days and the three detachments were reunited at Donna Anna, a small place in the state of

Chihuahua, where they found an abundance of supplies and water.

From this point they proceeded a day or two later down the Rio Grande unopposed until they came to an arm of the river called Brazito (which means "Little Arm"), where they were surprised by a force of about 1300 Mexicans. Doniphan's front guard had called a halt and were scattered out searching for forage when the Mexicans appeared. Forming in line very hastily, the Missourians received the charge that was directed against them, and

1. Battle of Brazito



DONIPHAN'S ARMY ON THE MARCH

From Stevens' *Missouri, the Center State*, by permission of the Missouri Historical Society.

in less than half an hour the skirmish was over and the Mexicans were in full retreat. Doniphan's loss was only eight wounded, while that of the Mexican was 79 killed and 150 wounded. After the battle was over Doniphan's men gathered up a supply of provisions that had been abandoned by the Mexicans on the field and made for themselves a great Christmas feast, for the engagement had occurred on Christmas afternoon.

Two days later El Paso was taken without any resistance. Investigations were at first instituted to ascertain what food supplies were to be had there and what also was available in the way of arms and ammunition. Owing to the kind treatment which the people of El Paso

2. Entry into El Paso

had received at the hands of the Americans, they were very generous toward the soldiers and extended to them many hospitalities.

3. March to
Chihuahua

It was while he was at El Paso that Doniphan learned that General Wool had not advanced upon the city of Chihuahua at all. This was not very encouraging, but Doniphan put the matter up to his men as to what should be done, and they promptly advised him to proceed to Chihuahua, which was over 200 miles distant. It was not deemed advisable, however, to go without the artillery which had been ordered from Santa Fé, and so Doniphan remained at El Paso for 42 days waiting for it to arrive. It was not until February 8, 1847, that the march was resumed. On March 1, Chihuahua was reached and taken.

The troops were forced to undergo great suffering while passing through stretches of desert land that intervened along the way between El Paso and Chihuahua. The heavy sand made travel almost impossible, and the men and mules were consumed with great thirst. Once the whole expedition was threatened with annihilation by a prairie fire and saved itself only by most heroic efforts.

4. Battle of
Sacramento

No opposing force was met, however, until they reached the pass of Sacramento, fifteen miles from Chihuahua. Here the enemy was discovered "occupying the brow of a rocky eminence," which was well fortified. "So certain of victory were the Mexicans," it is said, "that they had prepared strings and handcuffs" in which they meant to drive the Americans as prisoners to the City of Mexico. There were over 4000 Mexicans, well supplied with artillery, awaiting the Americans at the pass. Doniphan's force numbered a few more than 900 effective men. Notwithstanding this big difference in numbers, the American loss was only one killed and eleven wounded, three of whom subsequently died. The Mexican loss, however, was 200 killed and about 300 wounded. The day following the battle, Doniphan took possession of Chihuahua.

After taking Chihuahua Doniphan learned that both

Wool and Taylor were shut up by Santa Anna at Saltillo, about 470 miles southeast of Chihuahua. He therefore dispatched an express to Saltillo with a special communication to Wool in which he offered to come at once if only ordered to do so. He declared that his troops were wholly unfitted for garrison service and would be ruined by improper indulgences if they were kept as a "wagon guard" at Chihuahua. He therefore begged for an order to join Wool at once, especially since the term of service of his men was about to expire.

5. Advance to Saltillo and Matamoros

In due time an order came back from General Taylor to Doniphan directing him to proceed to Saltillo and thence to Matamoros, where his men would embark for the United States. The march from Chihuahua to the Gulf was a very tedious and arduous one, and the men had to undergo many hardships and much real suffering. On May 22, Doniphan and his men reached Saltillo, and on June 9 they arrived at Brazos Island at the mouth of the Rio Grande, from which place they embarked the next day for New Orleans and home. "With their arrival on the shores of the Gulf this extraordinary march came to an end. Including the Navajo expedition, it had extended over a distance of 3000 miles through an uninhabited or hostile country, often without water or supplies of any kind; and it had been made in the face of difficulties which tested to the utmost the endurance of those who took part in it. That they were able to accomplish it with a loss of less than 50 men, counting those who fell in the sharply contested action at Sacramento, speaks volumes for the material of the command, and justly entitled them to the enthusiastic welcome which they received on their return."¹

6. Embarkation for Home

¹ It is a singular coincidence that, just seventy years after Doniphan made his expedition across the deserts of Chihuahua, General Pershing led his punitive expedition over part of this same territory, hunting for the Mexican bandit, Villa. The coincidence is the more interesting as Pershing, like Doniphan, is a native Missourian.

**Reception
of the
Troops at
St. Louis**

On hearing that the Missouri volunteers were returning home by the way of the Mississippi River, the people of St. Louis prepared to give them a hearty welcome. But as the soldiers returned in detached parties they could not be induced to remain in St. Louis until all had arrived and then partake together of the proffered hospitality. It was therefore decided by the St. Louisans to go through with the formalities of the reception on July 2, at which time a considerable number of the troops were present. "Accordingly, the various military and fire companies of the city were paraded in full uniform; the people collected in great crowds; the Mexican cannon, the trophies of victory, were dragged along the streets, crowned with garlands; and an immense procession was formed" which proceeded to a certain place where Thomas Hart Benton delivered "a most thrilling and eloquent address, recounting with astonishing accuracy and extraordinary minuteness the events of the great campaign."

**Rebellion
in New
Mexico**

But while Doniphan and his men were making their way from Santa Fé to Chihuahua, a very serious rebellion broke out against American rule in New Mexico and came very near putting an end to it. It appears that the rebellion was headed by ten or twelve New Mexicans who sought to turn to their own advantage the deadly hostility of their fellow countrymen against the Americans. The plotting began about December 1, 1846, and the plan was to bring about the uprising on December 25.¹ But before this could be accomplished, Price, who had been left in charge of affairs at Santa Fé, had been informed about the matter and had prevented the uprising from occurring at that particular time. In less than a month, however, the storm broke, and Governor Bent and several other government officers were murdered at Taos. At the same time similar outbreaks occurred at a number of other places in the territory.

¹ On that day, it will be recalled, Doniphan won the battle of Brazito while on his way to El Paso.

On hearing of the uprising at Taos and the murder of Bent, Colonel Price set out for that place, and after besieging it finally took it on February 4, 1847. By means of other engagements the rebellion was suppressed. The leaders of the uprising were either killed in battle or executed, or they escaped to the mountains. Notwithstanding the suppression of the revolt, there was a great deal of pillaging committed by marauding bands of Indians and Mexicans, and there were several skirmishes between them and the American troops, entailing the loss of a considerable number of the latter. So unsettled were conditions in New Mexico that Colonel Price asked for additional troops, and these were promptly sent him. About the middle of August a battalion of infantry and a regiment of cavalry, all Missourians, started out from Leavenworth for Santa Fé, and early in October five more companies of Missouri volunteers were also sent out. In addition to these an Illinois regiment of volunteer infantry was raised and sent to Santa Fé.

Meanwhile Price had returned from New Mexico to Missouri, bringing his original troops with him. They arrived on September 25. Their total loss of men in battle and by disease had been 400. Price afterward returned and assumed control as general over the 3000 troops that had been sent into the territory, and was therefore able to preserve order without difficulty.¹

**Return of
Price to
New Mexico**

¹ The responsibility for this disastrous uprising on the part of the New Mexicans has been laid upon Price. He has been charged with unmilitary negligence in failing to keep the surrounding country and his own soldiers sufficiently under control. The charge may be more or less unfair, but Price was never a strong disciplinarian, and the blame for the revolt may rightly rest upon him, in part at least. In any case, this revolt caused many people to turn against Price. Among these was Colonel Jefferson Davis of Mississippi, who had saved the day at Buena Vista (Feb. 22, 1847). From that time on Davis expressed profound contempt for Price, and when later he became President of the Southern Confederacy, he more than once voiced his loathing for Price. More will be said about this personal hostility between Price and Davis in a later chapter.

**Significance
of Doni-
phan's
Expedition**

By the Treaty of 1848 Mexico ceded to the United States, New Mexico and California. In doing this Mexico merely gave legal sanction to the conquest of these territories that had already been accomplished. As far as New Mexico was concerned, the credit for conquering that territory belongs largely to Missourians. Missouri sent 7000 men in all into the war with Mexico, and of this number 6000 were employed in the conquest and pacification of New Mexico. The only other forces that were used in this work were the few regular dragoons in the opening weeks of the conquest, and the Illinois regiment of volunteers toward its close. It is therefore chiefly to the men of Missouri that the Union is indebted for the conquest of New Mexico.

REFERENCES

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CHAPTER IX

MISSOURI AND THE FAR WEST

[*Historical Setting.* — The War between the United States and Mexico.]

OF all the states in the Middle West no one has played a more important part in our national affairs than Missouri. Very early its history became closely intertwined with that of the nation, and twice at least questions pertaining to Missouri brought on a great crisis in our national affairs. The first of these two crises arose when Missouri sought admission into the Union and thus precipitated the first great struggle over slavery in the nation's history. Some attention has been given to that subject in a former chapter. The second of these questions arose at the outbreak of the Civil War and had to do with the problem of whether or not Missouri would remain in the Union. In due time that matter will be fully dealt with in this book.

**Missouri as
a Colonizer
of the
Far West**

But the special attention that is usually given to Missouri's connection with our national affairs in 1820 and during the Civil War should not cause us to lose sight of the fact that during the period from 1820 to 1860 Missouri was a very important factor in our national life because of the part it played in the development of practically all of the region west of the Mississippi, especially in the far Southwest and the far Northwest. We have seen in the preceding chapter how Missourians had won for the nation through conquest the vast stretch of territory in the Southwest. But more important than this military exploit was the part which Missouri played as a colonizer

of the West during the interval between 1820 and 1860. In this rôle it touched very directly the life of Texas, New Mexico, California, and Oregon.

That Missouri became in early days a colonizer of the regions that lay to the west of it was due largely to its geographical position. In the first place, Missouri was the converging point for many of the lines of navigation from the Great Lakes and the Alleghenies. The most important eastern tributaries of the Mississippi, namely, the Illinois and the Ohio, joined the Mississippi opposite Missouri, and inasmuch as the early movements of population westward followed these streams, a great number of settlers thereby made their way into Missouri. There were, of course, many things to attract settlers to Missouri which would have drawn them thither in time even if there had been no natural ways of approach. But the mere fact that the most important tributaries of the Mississippi on the east led directly to Missouri gave it an advantage over Iowa and Arkansas, and explains why Missouri became settled long before they were. For many years "Missouri stood as the vanguard of the states, with its settlements reaching out into the wilderness of western prairies."¹

In the second place, the Missouri River and its tributaries opened the way to the West and the Northwest and greatly facilitated the exploration and the settlement of those parts of the country. The Missouri River also aided in establishing a connection between Missouri and the Southwest, for although it had no tributaries from that direction, the Santa Fé Trail which led far away into the Southwest started from a Missouri River town.

Because of its geographical position, therefore, Missouri was on the great highway between the East and the Far West, and this gave the people of Missouri a great opportunity to participate directly in the development of the

¹ Arkansas was not admitted into the Union as a state until 1836, Iowa not until 1846, and Kansas not until 1861.

Far West. It is the purpose of the next few chapters to deal with some of the phases of this expansion of Missouri into the regions beyond it.

1. MISSOURI AND THE FUR TRADE

Missourians became interested in the Far West primarily because of certain attractions which that country afforded them. One of the most important of these attractions and the earliest of them all was the fur trade. It is significant that from early times to the present the fur trade has been a thriving industry in Missouri. Missouri is generally thought of as an agricultural state and, as a matter of fact, it has been and is such yet. But it is not solely agricultural. From earliest times Missouri has ranked high in lead mining and for many years it has been the leading state in the production of that metal and also of zinc. In recent times Missouri has become more and more important in manufacturing and commerce. But in the realm of commerce it has long maintained a leading position in at least one commodity — furs. St. Louis has for some time been one of the chief fur markets of the world. It was founded as a fur trading post, and though its business grew slowly, it held first place in the fur trade of the country during the early and middle parts of the nineteenth century. Naturally this brought an immense amount of wealth to St. Louis. Indeed it is not too much to say that most of the wealth which that city accumulated up to 1850, at least, was due to the fur trade, and of course Missouri shared in the prosperity of its most important city. It is fitting, therefore, that some account should be given here of the fur trade in Missouri, especially in the early period, not only because of its prominence as an industry in the State, but also because of the connection it helped to establish between Missouri and the Far West.

**Significance
of the Fur
Trade in the
History of
Missouri**

Early industrial conditions in Missouri were well suited to the development of the fur trade. Fur-bearing animals

Early Fur Trade in Missouri**1. Furs as Media of Exchange**

were numerous not only in Missouri but also in the tributary regions, and the pioneer, who was naturally fond of hunting, was irresistibly drawn into the traffic either as a trapper or as a trader. Moreover, furs were very valuable, and since money was not very plentiful and barter frequently had to be resorted to, furs were readily used as media of exchange, as has already been mentioned. For a long time values were expressed in Missouri in terms of furs, just as in Virginia in colonial times they were expressed in terms of tobacco.

2. Grant to Maxent, Laclede and Company

We have already seen that St. Louis was founded in 1764 by Maxent, Laclede and Company for the purpose of carrying on the fur trade with the Indians along the Missouri, a complete monopoly of which was granted to this firm by the French governor of New Orleans for a period of at least eight years. For some time after 1764 the Indians brought their furs to this post, and it was not necessary for the traders to take their goods and wares to the Indians and offer them in exchange for the furs that had been collected. But it was soon found that this method was inadequate. The Indians did not bring in as many peltries as were wanted, and hence the traders began to visit the Indian villages, going in groups of two, three, and four. Sometimes these traders paddled their canoes upstream and sometimes they struck out across the country with their packs of goods upon their backs.

3. Individual Traders

The fur trade was carried on in Missouri during the French and Spanish periods chiefly by individual traders and not by large companies. It is true that St. Louis was founded by a fur trading company, but Maxent was the only responsible member of the firm and Laclede was nothing more than a local manager. Maxent, Laclede and Company was after all an individual enterprise. There was, however, at least one attempt during this period to create a large company for the purpose of developing the fur trade beyond all former limits. In 1794 Governor Trudeau got nine or ten of the leading traders in the

Missouri country together in St. Louis and proposed to them that they should form a large company. His proposal was acted upon favorably, and the Commercial Company for the Discovery of the Nations of the Upper Missouri, more commonly called the Missouri Trading Company, was formed. "This was the first attempt to exploit the fur trade in the form of a compact organization."

In 1802 another company under the title of Manuel Lisa, Benoit and Company was formed by four merchants who were engaged in the fur trade on the Missouri River. Most prominent among them, as the name of the company would suggest, was Manuel Lisa, of whom we shall hear more very shortly.

But neither the Missouri Trading Company nor Lisa's company was very successful, and until after the Louisiana Purchase it was found that the conduct of the fur business by individuals was generally better suited to the industrial conditions of the time than by companies.

During the French and Spanish periods of Missouri's history, trading in furs by those who operated from Missouri was confined for the most part to the lower Missouri and its tributaries, chiefly the Osage and the Gasconade, and to the Mississippi between the Des Moines and the Arkansas rivers. From the region east of the Mississippi and from the upper course of that river, the traders from the Missouri country were excluded by the powers that held those regions.

The time came, however, when the field was greatly enlarged for the traders operating from Missouri. In 1804-06 Lewis and Clark made their famous expedition up the Missouri and down the Columbia to the Pacific, and in 1806 Pike made his almost equally famous expedition to the Rockies. The men brought back reports of the richness of the country they had explored in fur-bearing animals, and immediately traders began to make their way to these regions. Later the Sante Fé Trail was laid out and the country to the southwest began to yield rich

4. Restricted
Fields of
Operation

New Era in
the Fur
Trade of
Missouri

1. Enlarge-
ment of Field
of Operation

returns in furs. It was decidedly fortunate for the Missouri traders that these new regions were opened up, for the constant hunting and trapping that had been going on in the restricted area in which they had been operating prior to 1804 had done a great deal toward killing off the fur-bearing animals in that section, and it was necessary that new fields should be found if this industry was to continue. This necessity was met by the expeditions of Lewis and Clark and of Pike, and as a result the period of forty years following these expeditions was marked by a greater activity in the fur trade in Missouri than had ever been known before.

2. Creation
of Large Fur
Companies

This increase in the activity of the fur trade in Missouri was due not only to the new fields that were opened up, but also to the important changes that were made in the organization of the fur trade itself. Although individual traders continued throughout this period to operate within the field west of the Mississippi River, large companies were organized in St. Louis after 1808, and these conducted the fur trade on a much broader scale than had been possible when the traffic in St. Louis had been in the hands of individual traders. The activity of certain British fur companies, such as the Hudson's Bay Company and the Northwest Company of Montreal, had much to do with bringing about the formation of large companies in Missouri. These British companies were in operation not only in the vast territory of Canada, but also in a considerable portion of what is now the United States. It is a significant fact that a "large part of the trade of the country tributary to St. Louis was at that time in the hands of foreigners," and it was felt that individual trading on the part of Americans was inadequate to meet the competition of these large companies.

Missouri
Fur Com-
pany, or
Manuel Lisa
and
Company

One of the earliest of the American companies to be formed with St. Louis as a base of operations was the Missouri Fur Company. The leader in this company was Manuel Lisa, one of the most interesting characters in the

early history of Missouri. He was born of Spanish parents, probably in New Orleans, and in 1790 came as a young man to St. Louis, where he soon established himself in the fur trade. He realized the importance of the information that had been brought back by Lewis and Clark concerning the resources of the country which they had explored, and he decided to take immediate advantage of the situation in so far as was possible. He organized an expedition to ascend the Missouri and to establish posts among the Indians living along its upper course. After his return to St. Louis in 1808, he was the moving spirit in the reorganization of the Missouri Fur Company. For nearly twenty-five years thereafter this company operated along the upper Missouri River, but it was far from being a success financially. Its first expedition in 1809 turned out disastrously, owing to the hostility of the Blackfeet Indians living in the region of the Three Forks of the Missouri, with whom no sort of an agreement could be made. This disaster led to a reorganization of the company in 1812, and Lisa became the principal member. In fact, from this time to his death in 1820 the company was commonly spoken of as "Manuel Lisa and Company." The War of 1812 interfered with its work, but after the war was over business revived and the company appeared to be prosperous. Disasters, however, overtook it after Lisa's death and in the early thirties it became extinct. It was nevertheless "the most important company that did business from St. Louis in the first quarter of the nineteenth century."

1. Operations along the Upper Missouri

Whatever success the Missouri Fur Company enjoyed was largely due to Manuel Lisa. He found that the explanation for the failure of the early fur trade ventures, including those that had been undertaken by the Missouri Trading Company, which Trudeau had been instrumental in organizing, lay in the fact that preparations had been carried on by small parties working from temporary trading posts. Lisa decided to erect at suit-

2. Manuel Lisa

able places along the Missouri River fairly substantial forts and factories which would furnish him and his men adequate protection against the Indians and also permanent headquarters for the operations of his company. This new method at once demonstrated its superiority over the older methods, and whenever Lisa had complete control of his company he generally succeeded in the expedition he conducted.



MANUEL LISA

The most noted of the early fur traders in Missouri. From Stevens' *Missouri, the Center State*, by permission of the Missouri Historical Society.

Lisa was a man of unlimited energy and of astonishing endurance. During the last thirteen years of his life he made at least twelve different trips up the Missouri, no one of which was less than 670 miles long. "He never shrank from any toil that occasion demanded, and a finer example of persistent effort throughout a lifetime can scarcely be pointed out."

Lisa was not only a man of great physical energy and activity, but was also a "master of the art of conciliating the good will of the Indians," as much so at least as any trader who ever ascended the Missouri River. "He knew when to be gentle and when severe, and could adroitly mingle with his protestations of friendship demonstrations of ability to defend himself. While smoking the pipe of peace, he did not conceal the muskets of his followers nor the more formidable swivel upon the boat. He knew the indispensable function of presents, and he was never niggardly in this respect when parsimony might mean ruin. In short, he understood all

the secret springs which actuate the savage mind, and with marvelous dexterity he played upon them so as always to avert catastrophe." Although married, he took unto himself a wife from the Omaha tribe in order that he might ingratiate himself all the more in their good will.¹

Meanwhile, the regions southwest and west of Missouri were beginning to be developed by fur traders operating from St. Louis. For some time it had been known that the Rio Grande country was rich in beavers, but it was not until the opening of the Santa Fé trade about 1821 that St. Louis fur traders found an opportunity for exploiting this region on a large scale. Thereafter, however, large quantities of furs were brought from Santa Fé by traders on their return trip to St. Louis.

The region directly west of the Missouri, which lay between the far Northwest and the far Southwest, was developed by the Rocky Mountain Fur Company. This company was organized in 1822 for the purpose of operating as a competitor of the Missouri Fur Company in the upper Missouri River region. But, owing to disasters which overtook its efforts in 1822 and 1823, it gave up the Missouri River trade altogether, and in 1824 it began operating in the Rockies. An expedition was sent up to the source of the Platte River, and from thence it moved across the mountains to Green River and Salt Lake. It returned to St. Louis by way of the Yellowstone and the Missouri rivers, reaching St. Louis in October, 1825. The brilliant success of this expedition aroused

**Rocky
Mountain
Fur
Company**

**1. Opera-
tions in the
Rockies**

¹ It was because of his great influence with the Indians that the United States Government gave Lisa the task of holding the tribes on the Upper Missouri to the side of the United States in the War of 1812. He was successful in this task beyond all expectations. He not only organized Indian expeditions against some of the tribes on the Mississippi River that were allies of the British, but he was also instrumental in getting nearly all the upper Missouri River tribes to make treaties of friendship and alliance with the United States at the close of the war.

everyone interested in the fur trade, especially the American Fur Company, which had established itself a year or two before at St. Louis for the purpose of entering the fields tributary to that point.

**2. General
William
Ashley**

The moving spirit in the Rocky Mountain Company was General William Ashley. He was a Virginian by birth and had come to St. Louis in 1802, where during the next four years he was engaged in a number of different ventures, including the real estate business, the manufacture of powder, lead mining, and banking. He took an active part in developing the State militia, and by 1822 had been put at its head with the title of general. He also became very much interested in politics and was the first elected lieutenant governor of the newly created State of Missouri in 1820. In 1822 he joined himself with others in forming the Rocky Mountain Company, and in the next five years he went out on four different expeditions, most of which were very successful and remunerative.

**(a) Early
Career**

**(b) The
Annual
Rendezvous**

To Ashley belongs the credit for substituting the annual rendezvous for the established post. It has already been noted that Lisa had in his time been responsible for the creation of the permanent trading posts along the route that he was accustomed to travel on his expeditions. To these posts the Indians used to take their peltries for sale, and from these posts the hired trappers were sent out to operate. This system broke down because it required, first of all, that the company maintaining the posts should keep up its stock of goods used in trading, and second, that the company should maintain adequate means of defense at each post. Ashley decided that the thing to do was "to use white men for the work of trapping and to substitute the annual rendezvous for the established post." In other words, the trapper was to supplant the trader. Once a year the trappers operating in a given district were to gather at a certain place and turn in the catch which they had made during the

year. The company would gather up these catches on its way downstream and dispose of them at St. Louis. Ashley was not the real inventor of this scheme, as it had been used by the Hudson's Bay Company and even by the American Fur Company in 1821 and 1822. But he developed it on a large scale, and for that reason special mention should be made of his part in getting it generally established.

Under Ashley a new method of transportation in the fur trade was inaugurated. As long as the fur trader confined himself to the upper Missouri River he made his way by boat, employing the keel boat, the mackinaw, and the bull boat. The route which Ashley's company took to the west was not along navigable rivers and hence they could not make use of the usual means of transportation. The Platte River has been described as a river one thousand miles long and six inches deep. It was not navigable even for the boats that drew the lightest draft, but it could be followed by horse and mule pack trains, and that was the method used by Ashley in his famous trip of 1824.

(c) The Pack Train

By 1830 Ashley had amassed a considerable fortune and soon thereafter retired from the Rocky Mountain Fur Company to devote himself to politics. From 1831 to 1837 he served in Congress, where on account of his wide knowledge of the western country he was able to exercise considerable influence. At the time of his death in 1838 he was probably, next to Benton, the best known and most influential man in Missouri.

(d) Ashley in Politics

Although the Rocky Mountain Fur Company was in operation only twelve years, it accomplished much that was of very great importance in the history of the West. "In pushing out to the Rockies, it opened a new field for the fur trade, which proved to be one of the most fruitful in the West, and it contributed greatly to the geographical knowledge of the country. The whole country around the sources of the Platte, the Green, the Yellow-

3. Importance of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company in the Development of the West

stone, and the Snake rivers, and in the region around Great Salt Lake was opened up by it. It discovered Great Salt Lake and also South Pass. It was the first to travel from Great Salt Lake southwesterly to southern California, the first to cross the Sierras and the deserts of Utah and Nevada between California and Great Salt Lake, and the first, so far as is known, to travel by land up the Pacific coast from San Francisco to the Columbia.

"But perhaps the most important service which the company rendered to the country was as a school for the education of those who were later to assist the Government in the explorations of the West. It was to old members and employees of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company that the Government looked mainly for its guides when it entered these regions for the first time."

**American
Fur
Company**

1. John
Jacob Astor

One other company operating from St. Louis requires our attention here, and that is the American Fur Company. It had been organized in 1808 by John Jacob Astor, a native of Germany, who had come to America in 1783 with some musical instruments to sell. Shortly after arriving he went to New York and soon became the greatest fur merchant in this country. The Lewis and Clark expedition revealed to him the vast possibilities of the fur trade in the far Northwest, and he prepared to extend his operations, which were already extensive, into that region. He therefore secured in 1808 a charter from the State of New York for the American Fur Company and proceeded to enter this new field.¹

Into the history of the founding of Astoria at the mouth of the Columbia, and its disastrous end on account of the War of 1812, we cannot go here. It was this same company, however, still under the direction of Astor, that opened up an establishment in St. Louis in 1822, in serious

¹ As far as this company operated in the far Northwest, it was known as the Pacific Fur Company. The term "American Fur Company" was used to include all of the different fur trading activities of Astor.

opposition to the traders there. Owing to this bitter opposition, Astor decided that the best thing to do was to crush out as many of his rivals as he could and to buy up the rest and consolidate them with the American Fur Company; and in the course of the next ten or twelve years this was what he did. As a result, the American Fur Company came to be a great monopoly operating in a vast territory west of the Mississippi, and because of its

2. Monopoly



HEADQUARTERS OF THE AMERICAN FUR COMPANY AT ST. LOUIS, 1835

From Stevens' *Missouri, the Center State*, by permission of the Missouri Historical Society.

methods and practices it was most bitterly hated by every trapper in that region.

In 1834 Astor retired from the American Fur Company, and the western department of the company was sold to Pratte, Chouteau and Company, a firm made up of St. Louis traders. Although there were other concerns in the same field, this firm continued to control a large part of the western fur business until its retirement about 1860.

3. Pratte,
Chouteau
and
Company

But some time before 1860 the fur trade at St. Louis had begun to decline. The demand for beaver was no longer so great, owing to the use that was being made of silk in the making of hats. Moreover, the more valuable fur-bearing animals were being exterminated in the field of the St. Louis traders, and the trade was

Decline of
the St. Louis
Fur Trade
by 1860

diverted from St. Louis to other cities more conveniently located as places of collection and transshipment.

No record of the volume of the fur business at St. Louis prior to 1869 was kept, but it has been estimated that the average annual value of the furs brought to that city from 1808 to 1847 was between \$200,000 and \$300,000.

Revival
since 1890



PIERRE CHOUTEAU

Grandson of Laclède, the founder of St. Louis, and prominent in the fur trade of St. Louis in the thirties and forties. From Houck's *History of Missouri*.

1. New
Methods

Between 1860 and 1890 the fur trade at St. Louis was at a standstill, but since 1890 it has mounted up again very rapidly. In 1897 the fur trade amounted to about \$1,000,000; in 1901, \$4,000,000; and in 1917, \$17,000,000.

This revival has been due largely to the new methods that have been employed in exploiting the fur resources of the country. For some time the six or seven large fur firms in St. Louis have been issuing hundreds of thousands of price lists every season and sending them out to all parts of the country. In this way they solicit directly from the trapper and the local trader the furs which they have to sell. As a result, furs are shipped from practically every village and town in the United States directly to these firms in St. Louis.

2. Auction
Sales

But the most important factor in the extraordinary growth of the fur trade in the last few years has been the auction sales inaugurated in 1913 by Funsten Brothers and Company, an old established fur firm in St. Louis. In addition to buying furs and selling them from day to day or week to week as other firms in the city are doing, they have been acting for the past three or four years as

brokers, receiving furs from shippers and selling them on commission for these shippers at great open auction sales held three times a year. All furs thus put up for sale go to the highest bidder without the slightest collusion in the fixing of prices. The three auction sales of this company for 1917 aggregated more than \$10,000,000, the one in January running over \$3,000,000, that in April over \$4,000,000, and that in October reaching \$3,375,000. These sales, together with those made by this firm and others from day to day, ran the sum total of the fur sales for St. Louis for 1917 up to more than \$17,000,000.

Through this recent revival and development of the fur trade, St. Louis has not only been restored to its primacy among the fur markets of this country, but it has also won for itself the title of the "Fur City of the World." The shutting up of the great fur market at Leipsic, Germany, and the cutting down of the sales of the fur market at London on account of the present war, have contributed greatly toward making St. Louis the greatest fur center in the world. Whether the resumption of peace will materially affect its newly acquired position remains to be seen. The fur dealers of that place are nevertheless confident that the city will be able to retain its primacy.

3. St. Louis, the "Fur City of the World"

2. STEAMBOAT TRAFFIC ON THE MISSOURI RIVER

The development of the fur trade in Missouri in the thirties and forties on so large a scale as has just been described was made possible by the great improvements in the means of river transportation that occurred during that period, the most important of which was the steamboat.

Early Means of River Transportation

Prior to the advent of the steamboat all river transportation was by means of the canoe, the mackinaw, the bull boat, and the keel boat. The canoe was the simplest of all the river craft. It was a dugout, usually being

1. Canoe

hollowed out of a cottonwood log. It was from fifteen to eighteen feet long and was generally manned by three

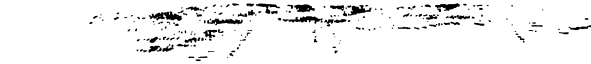


FLAT BOAT

men, one to steer and two to paddle. It was used chiefly for local business, though occasionally employed for long trips.

2. Mackinaw

The mackinaw was a flat boat built entirely of timber. It was pointed at both ends and was sometimes from forty to fifty feet long. Its crew consisted of five men — one steersman and four oarsmen. This boat was generally used in downstream navigation, and when it reached its destination it was usually sold for lumber.



BULL BOATS

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3. Bull Boat

The bull boat was made of buffalo bull hides sewed together and stretched over a frame of poles, and was from twelve to thirty feet long. Because of its light draft, it was adapted to shallow streams. It was propelled by means of poles and required only two men to handle it.

The keel boat was from sixty to seventy feet long, with a keel running from bow to stern, and was the latest improvement in river transportation facilities prior to the steamboat. On account of its size it was capable of carrying a larger cargo than the other boats that have been described. It was usually propelled by means of a cordelle. This consisted of a line nearly 1000 feet long, one end of which was fastened to the top of a thirty-foot mast in the center of the boat. The other end of this line was in the hands of from twenty to thirty men on the shore,

4. Keel Boa



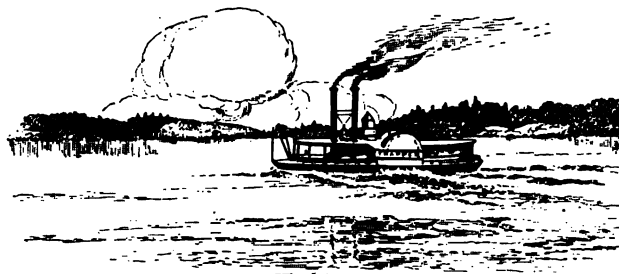
KEEL BOAT WITH CORDELLE, SAIL, AND POLES

As used by pioneer Missourians. From Stevens' *Missouri, the Center State*, by permission of the Missouri Historical Society.

who by pulling moved the boat upstream. Cordelling was always more or less difficult and in places it was absolutely impossible. At such points poles or oars were used. Sails were also used at times very effectively. Notwithstanding the difficulty with which this boat was propelled, it was employed more extensively than any other kind for long distance voyages upstream prior to the invention of the steamboat, and in fact it continued to be used along with the steamboat for many years after the latter appeared. The average day's voyage for the keel boat was from twelve to fifteen miles.

**Steamboat
on the Mis-
souri River****1. First
Appearance**

The steamboat made its first appearance in the West in 1811, when one was launched in the Ohio River at Pittsburgh. Six years later it made its way up the Mississippi to St. Louis, and in 1819 it reached Franklin, Howard County, on the Missouri. But, owing to the peculiarities of the Missouri River, most people were extremely doubtful for some time as to whether the steamboat could be used with any degree of success on that stream. The voyage of 1819 was not an unqualified success, although it demonstrated that steamboat navigation of the Missouri was a possibility. Not until 1831, however,



PIONEER STEAMBOAT ON THE MISSOURI

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was it definitely proved that long trips up the Missouri could be made with comparative safety. In that year the American Fur Company sent a steamboat, called the *Yellowstone*, far up the Missouri River, and although this boat did not reach the Yellowstone River, as was intended, the company was satisfied with the experiment and therefore decided to discard the keel boat service on the Missouri, and to use the steamboat in its place.

**2. The
*Yellowstone***

The first *Yellowstone* is a good example of the early river steamboats. It was 130 feet long, with a beam of 19 feet and a hold of six feet. It was propelled by side wheels and had only one engine. Later steamboats were propelled by one wheel at the stern instead of two at the

sides. The freight storage was in the hold, but boilers, engine, and cabins were above the main deck. The only fuel that was burned was wood, and for a time this was cut by the crew as the boat proceeded on her voyage. Later, as trips became more regular, wood yards were established at various points along the river. Early steamboats ran only in the daytime, unless there was bright moonlight at night. The danger from snags and bars was always very great, and particularly so at night. The pilot was by far the most important member of the crew.

It is obvious that the steamboat not only contributed to the development of the fur trade of Missouri, but also afforded a means of establishing close connections between Missouri and the Northwest in other ways, and of extending Missouri's influence in that region.

Within thirty years after the *Yellowstone* made its trip to the upper course of the Missouri River, the steamboat traffic on that stream began to decline. The cause for this decline was the rapid development of the railroads west of the Missouri. The struggle between the railroad and the steamboat on the Missouri began with the completion of the Hannibal and St. Joseph Railroad in 1859 and of the Missouri Pacific from St. Louis to Kansas City in 1866. These two roads touched the Missouri River at two points in western Missouri, and although they did not take away from the steamboats the upper Missouri River traffic, they affected from the first the traffic along the lower course, especially below St. Joseph. Between 1866 and 1887 numerous other railroads running east and west were built out to the Missouri River north of the Hannibal and St. Joseph. Among these roads were the Chicago and Northwestern, the Sioux City and Pacific, the Union Pacific, the Northern Pacific, and the Great Northern. As point after point was taken by the railroads along the Missouri River, the steamboat became less and less important, and finally it disappeared

3. Disappearance from the Missouri River

4. Reap-
pearance
in Recent
Years

after the Great Northern entered Helena, Montana, in 1887.¹

In recent years, however, the steamboat has reappeared on the Missouri River, thanks to the effort of certain enterprising business men of Kansas City. In 1912 these men induced Congress to resume its appropriations for the improvement of the Missouri River from Kansas City to its mouth. The plan that is being followed contemplates a permanent channel of six feet minimum depth, at a cost of \$20,000,000, but this plan was not adopted by Congress until Kansas City had raised by popular subscription the sum of \$1,200,000 and had begun freight service on the river with a fleet of modern boats and barges, and had erected well-equipped terminals at Kansas City and St. Louis. Congress has already appropriated (1918) nearly \$8,000,000 of the \$20,000,000 contemplated, and 75 miles of the permanent channel have already been built.

The Kansas City Missouri Navigation Company, organized in 1910, with a capital of more than \$1,000,000, has been maintaining regular service each week between Kansas City and St. Louis with a fleet of two modern tow boats and nine barges. There is also a small line of boats operating between Omaha and Decatur, and another small line in the vicinity of Bismarck, North Dakota.

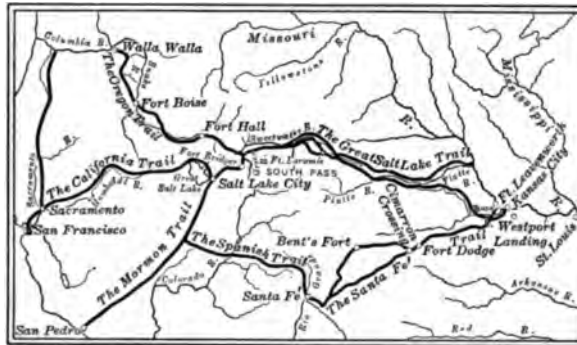
The steamboat is still in use on the Mississippi River, but not on so large a scale as in earlier days. Here, too, the railroad has cut down the river traffic, but not to the same extent that it has on the Missouri River.

¹ The following steamboat arrivals by years at Fort Benton, Montana, are suggestive as to the influence of the railroads on the steamboat traffic on the Missouri River. In 1859 one steamboat arrived at Fort Benton; in 1865, 8; in 1869, 24; in 1874, 6; in 1878, 46; in 1883, 21; in 1888, 3. The increase in the number of arrivals in 1878 is interesting, but thereafter the steamboat traffic on the upper Missouri tended on the whole to decrease until it stopped altogether after 1888.

3. THE SANTA FÉ AND OREGON TRAILS

Contemporaneous with the steamboat and to some extent even before it, other connections between Missouri and the Far West were established by means of overland routes which made it possible for Missouri to influence still further the development of the regions that lay beyond her. The most important of these overland routes were the Santa Fé and the Oregon trails. Both started from Independence, Missouri, the one extending in a south-westerly direction to Santa Fé for a distance of 775 miles,

The Over-land Routes



THE PRINCIPAL WESTERN TRAILS

and the other in a westerly and northwesterly direction to Fort Vancouver near the mouth of the Columbia River, for a distance of 2020 miles. Along these two trails traders and trappers passed back and forth in the pursuit of their traffic, and in the course of time colonists from Missouri and from states east of Missouri made their way along these great highways to distant regions in the Far West.

“To William Becknell of Missouri belongs the honor of being the founder of the Santa Fé trade and the father of the Santa Fé Trail.” This high honor has been awarded him because he was the first to take a successful trading expedition to Santa Fé. This he did in 1821-22.

Early Santa Fé Expeditions

1. Santa Fé But long before Becknell's successful expedition, men had been passing back and forth between the Missouri River and Santa Fé in various kinds of enterprises. Santa Fé had been founded by the Spanish some time between 1609 and 1617 and is therefore one of the oldest towns in the United States. It is beautifully situated on a small tributary of the Rio Grande, twelve miles east of that river, and it probably did not contain more than 3000 inhabitants during the period of its most prosperous trade with the United States. Besides Santa Fé there were other little towns along the Rio Grande for several hundred miles north and south of Santa Fé, the population of which was densely ignorant and very backward in all forms of industry. Notwithstanding the conditions that prevailed in New Mexico, Santa Fé was deemed a good market for the commodities that traders from Missouri had to sell, and also a good center from which to obtain furs, horses, mules, and especially specie;¹ hence the rise of the Santa Fé trade and the building of the Santa Fé Trail.

2. First Expedition The first known expedition from the upper Mississippi country to the neighborhood of Santa Fé for trading purposes occurred shortly before 1763. Some French traders took a lot of merchandise by way of the Arkansas River to a point in the Mexico Mountains, probably near the site of the present town of Pueblo, Colorado, and there, erecting a temporary store, they opened up a trade with the Indians and the Spaniards of New Mexico.

3. Vial's Journey, 1792-93 It would seem that during the period of the Spanish régime in Upper Louisiana there would have been some effort to establish trade relations between Santa Fé and the settlements in the Missouri country, inasmuch as they were both under Spanish control. But none was made so far as we know. It is true that in 1792-93 Pedro Vial was sent by the Spanish authorities in New

¹ Prior to the establishing of the Santa Fé Trail, foreign goods were brought into New Mexico from far distant Vera Cruz.

Mexico to open up a direct route between Santa Fé and St. Louis, and that in making his way to St. Louis he went along substantially the same route that afterward became celebrated as the Santa Fé Trail. But no commercial relations arose between the two cities as the result of Vial's journey.

Between the purchase of Louisiana in 1803 and the independence of Mexico from Spain in 1821, there were several attempts to establish commercial relations between Missouri and Santa Fé. But practically every American trader who sought to establish such relations was put in prison by the Spanish authorities and kept there. "The Spanish authorities dared not let the prisoners return to their American homes because it was recognized that the knowledge carried back with them would encourage many future expeditions resulting in American expansion southwestward and American control of the intervening tribes of Indians."

It was during this period of nearly twenty years (1803-21) that Pike made his famous semi-official expedition to the Southwest in 1806-07. He was ordered to visit certain Indian tribes in the western and southwestern parts of the newly acquired territory of Louisiana, and he may have had unwritten orders to go to Santa Fé. At any rate he proceeded as far as the Rio Grande and on the west bank of that river he built a redoubt, over which he raised an American flag. For this he was arrested by the Spanish authorities and taken to Santa Fé and later to Chihuahua. It is declared by some that he had done this in order that he might get into Santa Fé and find out what the conditions were there.¹

After his return to the United States in 1807, Pike wrote and published an account of his journey. This

¹ It is rather significant that at the same time that Pike was carrying on his expedition into Spanish New Mexico, Malgoures was conducting a similar expedition from Santa Fé into the United States in behalf of Spain.

4. Imprisonment of American Traders in Mexico

5. Pike's Expedition, 1806-07

account "showed how possible was the route from Missouri to the Spanish settlements and became the inspiration of many of the later traders."

**6. Mexican
Revolution,
1821**

Several Americans attempted in the next few years to get into Santa Fé with their wares, but they were imprisoned just as others before them had been. In 1821, however, a change came over the situation because of the success of the Mexican revolution against Spain in that year. "Mexican independence meant at least a partial reversal of the former Spanish policy of exclusiveness and suspicious intolerance of foreigners," and



A MISSOURI PACK TRAIN ON ITS WAY TO SANTA FÉ, 1820

From Stevens' *Missouri, the Center State*, by permission of the Missouri Historical Society.

under these conditions it was then deemed possible to establish commercial relations between the United States and New Mexico, something that had hitherto been impossible.

**Becknell's
Expeditions,
1821-22**

That, at least, was the view of William Becknell of Missouri, who started from his home in Franklin, Howard County, in September, 1821, with between twenty and thirty associates, for Santa Fé. He had advertised the proposed expedition in the *Missouri Intelligencer* for June 25, 1821, in the form of "An Article for the government of a Company of men destined westward for the purpose of trading for horses and mules and catching wild animals

of every description." It would seem from this and other evidence that he planned originally both a trading and a trapping expedition. He and his fellow adventurers disposed of the merchandise which they had brought with them at "a handsome profit" and returned home in January, 1822.

About a month after Becknell's expedition set out, another one was undertaken under the direction of Major Fowler of Kentucky and Hugh Glenn of Cincinnati, who started from Glenn's trading post in what is now Oklahoma. During the following year, 1822, three different parties left Missouri for Santa Fé, one of which was conducted by Becknell himself. This second journey of Becknell was of historic importance for two reasons: first, the route that was followed was somewhat more direct than the one taken the year before; and second, wagons were made use of in the Santa Fé trade for the first time. Soon thereafter caravans passed regularly every year along the trail from Missouri to Santa Fé. It was because of the financial success of Becknell's second expedition, and because of the route he followed and the use he made of wagons, that he has been given the honor of being called "the founder of the Santa Fé trade and the father of the Santa Fé Trail."

Although the Santa Fé trade developed very rapidly after 1822, it was beset by two very serious difficulties: first, attacks upon the caravans by the Indians; second, exorbitant tariffs and indefinite customs regulations imposed upon traders by Mexico.

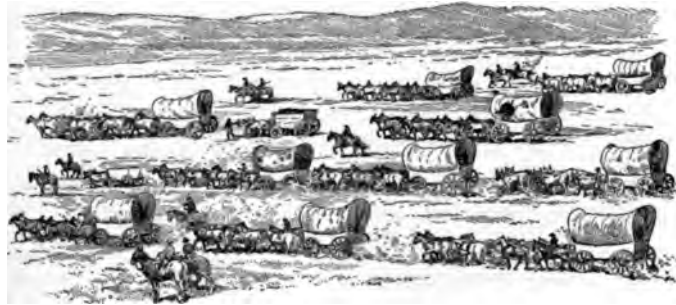
The Indian attacks upon the caravans were very annoying and were sometimes very serious. Generally the Indians attempted nothing more than stampeding and driving off the horses and mules that belonged to the caravans; but occasionally they attacked and killed the traders themselves. The only authority to which the traders could appeal for protection was the United States Government; but in spite of the interest that Senator

**Difficulties
in Develop-
ing the
Santa Fé
Trade**

**1. Indian
Attacks**

(a) Appeal
to the
United
States Gov-
ernment for
Protection

Benton took in the matter, practically nothing was done by Congress to provide the protection that was needed. It is true that in 1829 four companies of unmounted infantry were ordered by President Jackson to accompany the Santa Fé traders as far as the boundaries of New Mexico, and in 1834 and 1843 troops escorted the traders in a similar manner. But in each instance the military escort was powerless to assist the traders against the Indians from the boundaries of New Mexico to Santa Fé. The traders, meanwhile, finally learned that the



AN OVERLAND TRAIN ON ITS WAY FROM MISSOURI TO THE
FAR WEST

From Stevens' *Missouri, the Center State*, by permission of the Missouri Historical Society.

only way in which adequate protection could be secured was by banding together in one strong caravan and forming an effective semi-military organization of their own. By so doing they were able to ward off the attacks of the Indians, and after 1832 the attention of Congress was seldom called to the dangers that confronted the Santa Fé traders.

(b) Organi-
zation of the
Caravans

The organization of the caravans for protection against the Indians was usually effected at Council Grove, a point about 150 miles west of Independence. Here the men making up the expedition came together and elected a captain, two lieutenants, a marshal, a clerk, a pilot,

a court of three members, a commander of the guards, and a chaplain. The authority of the captain was very slight, his functions being limited to fixing the hours of starting and stopping, and the location of the camp. "There was a notable absence of anything like discipline except in the matter of guards. Guard duty was relentlessly enforced, and no members of the party except officers and invalids were exempt." Notwithstanding this lack of authority on the part of the officers, and notwithstanding the great variety in the military equipment of the



ARRIVAL OF AN OVERLAND TRAIN AT SANTA FÉ

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traders, the caravan was generally able to protect itself against attacks.

The caravan made a very picturesque scene as it moved along the trail. The wagons had deep beds with sides that sloped outward toward the top, and with heavy canvas covers stretched over bows that extended from one side of the bed to the other. In the early days of the traffic along the trail, each wagon had a capacity of about a ton and a half and was drawn by eight mules or the same number of oxen. Later, wagons with nearly double the capacity of the first ones were used and were drawn by ten or twelve mules or oxen. These wagons were significantly called "prairie schooners." Mules were

used before oxen; but in 1829 it was found that oxen were somewhat better adapted to the work and after that time were more generally used than mules.¹

2. Mexican
Tariffs and
Customs
Regulations

But, as has been said, the traders were not only beset by Indian dangers; they were also harassed by the high tariffs and uncertain and changing customs regulations of the Mexicans. Complaints came frequently from the traders about the heavy duties that were imposed upon them by the Mexicans, and sometimes it was reported that certain articles were altogether prohibited from being brought into the country by the traders. Moreover, there was great uncertainty in these matters; the tariff schedules and the customs regulations of one year might be changed without warning the following year, and the traders never knew what to expect from the Mexican officials. Besides this, as the demand in Santa Fé for goods made in other countries than the United States increased, American traders found that they were forced to pay two duties upon these foreign goods, first, when they came into American ports, and second, when they were taken into Mexico. Requests for relief were frequently sent from the traders to the United States Government, but for a long time nothing definite was done. Finally arrangements were made for "drawbacks" in the case of foreign goods passing through this country to Santa Fé.

¹ When oxen were used, a day's travel on the trail was divided usually into two drives of from six to eight hours each. The first drive began as soon as it was light enough to see and continued until about noon, when the wagons were corralled and the cattle were fed. In hot weather the second drive did not begin until about three or four o'clock in the afternoon and was continued until nine or ten o'clock in the evening. When the cattle were unyoked they were put in charge of a night herder, whose business it was to keep watch over them. All that was necessary was to keep track of the leader of the herd, and that was not at all difficult if the grass was plentiful. If the grass was short, the herd would often wander a long way from the camp, and that would entail considerable watchfulness on the part of the night guard.

But very shortly after this last arrangement was made the United States acquired New Mexico, and then all tariff questions and customs regulations between American traders and Santa Fé officials disappeared.

The first expedition of Becknell in 1821 was undertaken by a joint stock company. Each man who went on that expedition contributed to the common stock and each shared proportionately in the profits. In the three expeditions of 1822, it seems that those who went did not form stock companies, but each man engaged in business on his own account. In neither of the expeditions of 1821 and 1822 were there any employers or employees; all were traders. But after 1822 this arrangement gave way to another in which those going on the expeditions were divided into two classes, the traders who owned the merchandise, and the employees who acted as drivers, hunters, and salesmen for the traders. As the years passed the number of employees in a given expedition increased and the number of employers or traders decreased. Whereas in the six years between 1822 and 1828 the number of men on an annual expedition averaged about ninety, two thirds of whom were traders and one third employees, in the six years from 1837 to 1843 the number of men on an annual trip generally amounted to 175, of whom only one third were traders and two thirds were employees.

Most of the men who went on these expeditions, whether as traders or employees, were from central or western Missouri. Many were men of prominence in the State, among whom were M. M. Marmaduke, later governor of the State; Colonel Benjamin Cooper and Major Stephen Cooper; Captain Charles Bent; Colonel Richard Gentry, who lost his life in the Seminole war in Florida in 1837; Major Alphonse Wetmore; and Colonel Benjamin H. Reeves, lieutenant governor of Missouri. Many of the men who went on these expeditions as traders continued their business in Missouri and undertook the trips as extra

**Character of
the Santa
Fé Trade
and its
Value**

1. Traders

enterprises "between the more important periods of the year's work at home."

2. Wares

The goods taken to Santa Fé by these traders included almost everything needed in everyday life. According to an enumeration made in 1824, they included the following: "Cotton goods, consisting of coarse and fine cambrics, calicoes, domestic shawls, handkerchiefs, steam-loom shirtings, and cotton hose; a few woolen goods, consisting of super blues, stroudings, pelisse cloth and shawls, crapes, bombazettes; some light articles of cutlery, a silk shawl, and looking-glasses; in addition to these, many other articles necessary for the purpose of an assortment." Notwithstanding this variety, fully one half of the cargo was made up of domestic cottons. Missourians were accustomed to make a special point of this fact when they sought to secure from the National Government protection against the Indians on the trail. They showed that Missouri was not alone interested in the Santa Fé trade. The South was interested because it raised the cotton; the North, because it manufactured cotton cloth.

In the early days of the Santa Fé expeditions the traders obtained their wares from merchants in Missouri; but as the years passed and the business fell into the hands of fewer and fewer traders, it became the practice of these traders to buy their wares in Philadelphia, ship them to Missouri, and then take them on to Santa Fé.

The average amount of merchandise taken to Santa Fé each year from 1822 to 1827 was valued at about \$50,000. During the years from 1828 to 1843 the annual cargoes averaged in value about \$200,000. And for the entire period from 1822 to 1843, it is estimated that more than \$3,000,000 worth of goods was taken to Santa Fé.

3. Returns

In return for these commodities which the traders took to Santa Fé they obtained furs, livestock, and specie. Raw wool and sometimes coarse Mexican blankets were brought back, but not in great quantities. The commod-

ities that were brought back by the traders were of great importance to Missouri. The principal furs that came from Santa Fé were beaver and otter, and were highly prized in the St. Louis market. "Of nearly as much value as the furs and of much greater consequence to Missouri and to the necessities of the trader were the droves of livestock brought from New Mexico, consisting of horses, jacks, jennets, and large numbers of mules. Indeed, Missouri apparently owes her preëminence in the mule-raising industry to the early impetus received from the Santa Fé trade."

"But of more importance than either the furs or the livestock brought back by the trader was the specie." In a former chapter we saw how Missourians were compelled in early days to rely on barter or to make use of the "wildcat" currency that came in from other states. It was therefore a great boon to the State to have a stream of coin and bullion pouring into it from Santa Fé. It has been estimated that for many years from \$100,000 to \$200,000 in coin and bullion, in addition to the other commodities, were brought into Missouri each year.

The returns to the traders on their investments, whether in the form of furs, livestock, or specie, were enough to repay them for their trouble and risk and to cover the losses that were sustained from Indian depredations. Becknell was reported to have made a profit of 200 per cent on his second expedition in 1822, and another expedition in 1824 is said to have yielded returns amounting to 300 per cent profit. But usually the profits ran from 20 to 100 per cent.

The Oregon and the Santa Fé trails differed physically in several respects. In the first place, the one was nearly twice as long as the other. Moreover, the one crossed the Rockies, while the other was confined to the plains. South Pass, where the Oregon Trail crossed the crest of the Rockies, was almost half way between the beginning and the end of the trail. Again, the Oregon Trail was

4. Profits

Comparison
between the
Oregon and
the Santa Fé
Trails

never surveyed, while the Santa Fé Trail was. Both originated through the spontaneous use of travelers, but in 1825 the United States Government undertook a survey of the Santa Fé Trail. This survey was nothing more than a marking of the route and did not include the building of a road.¹ It did not follow in all its parts the route that travelers had already marked out. The surveyors sought to go around places that were more or less difficult of passage, but the traders declined to travel along these new sections marked off by the surveyors and stuck to their old short cuts in spite of the difficulties that they encountered. But no survey of any sort was ever made of the Oregon Trail.

**Origin of
the Oregon
Trail**

The history of the Oregon Trail begins with the fur trading expeditions to and from Astoria (Oregon) in 1811-13. After that, trappers and traders as they passed back and forth "gradually connected the more feasible crossings of the mountains and the deserts" that had been discovered; so that "by 1843 there was a well-defined, continuous route from the Missouri River at the mouth of the Kansas to the Pacific Ocean at the mouth of the Columbia." An illustration of this sort of growth of the trail is the discovery of the famous South Pass in 1823 by the agents of William Ashley of Missouri, who, through the Rocky Mountain Fur Company, was developing the fur trade of the mountains. The discovery of this pass greatly facilitated travel across the mountains and had a great deal to do in determining the permanent course of the Oregon Trail.

**Common
Starting
Point of the
Two Trails**

The two trails started near the mouth of the Kansas River and ran along the same route for about forty miles westward. At a point a little northwest of the present town of Gardner, Kansas, the trails parted and from there on ran in different directions.

¹ Special permission was obtained from the Mexican government allowing the United States commissioners to survey the trail across Mexican territory.

In a sense the real starting point of these trails was St. Louis, the journey from that place to the point where the overland traveling began being generally made by steamboat. But as traders always outfitted their expeditions at the point where the overland journey began, we are accustomed to speak of that point as the beginning of the trail. The earliest Santa Fé expeditions were usually outfitted at Franklin, Howard County, which was at that

1. Franklin



TAVERN AT ARROW ROCK

Arrow Rock is a town on the Missouri River in Saline County. In early days it was on the Santa Fé Trail from Boonville to Independence. The tavern in the town was the regular stopping place of the Santa Fé traders as they came and went. It is still used as a hotel.

time the most important town in Missouri west of St. Louis. Nearly all the earlier Santa Fé expeditions were made by residents of the Boone's Lick country. But as the trade grew in importance and as the steamboats began to ascend the Missouri to higher points, and particularly as traders from other places than Boone's Lick began to engage in the trade, the starting place was gradually transferred to what is now Independence, near the mouth of the Kansas River. This town was laid out

2. Independence

in 1827.

3. Westport In the course of the next six years, however, the Missouri River destroyed the steamboat landing at Independence, and the boats were compelled to go farther up the river to find a convenient place to unload their cargoes. The place selected was laid out in 1833 and was called Westport. Gradually it supplanted Independence in the business of outfitting the expeditions that went out on the trails. Meanwhile Franklin, which had been injured commercially by the transfer of the business



KANSAS CITY AS IT WAS IN 1852

From Stevens' *Missouri, the Center State*, by permission of the Missouri Historical Society.

of outfitting to Independence and Westport, was swept completely out of existence by the action of the Missouri River.¹

**Importance
of the Trails
in the His-
tory of
Missouri**

The Santa Fé and Oregon trails were important in the history of Missouri and the Far West not only because of the commerce that passed back and forth along them, but also because of the streams of colonists that flowed out through them from Missouri to the Far West. Coloni-

¹ Parties sometimes started for Oregon at Fort Leavenworth or St. Joseph, following the Missouri River up to Council Bluffs and then following the Platte River to South Pass, where they would strike the main Oregon Trail.

zation followed as a most natural consequence the commercial activity that went on with these distant countries. This was particularly true of Oregon. After 1840 Missourians settled in such large numbers in the famous Willamette Valley as to make that region practically a transplanted section of Missouri. Meanwhile, Missourians were also going to New Mexico, and later they went on to southern California. The discovery of gold in California in 1848 naturally drew many Missourians to that country, and they generally found their way thither along these two trails.¹



SANTA FÉ TRAIL MARKER

From Stevens' *Missouri, the Center State*, by permission of the Missouri Historical Society.

So important were these trails in the history of Missouri and the Far West that it was thought fitting to set

**Marking
the Trails**

¹ The influence of Missouri in early days was felt in other states of the West besides those that have been specially mentioned. In Montana, for example, a list was compiled in 1899 of the persons who had settled in that state prior to 1865. Of the 1808 persons so listed, 138 had been born in Missouri. Only one other state ranked ahead of Missouri and that was New York, to which 154 were credited. In the census of 1870, 1305 of the 18,306 white persons living in Montana had been born in Missouri. How many more people who had been born elsewhere but had lived in Missouri for a time before going to Montana cannot be told, but doubtless the number was large. The fact that, of the 1808 persons listed in 1899 as having settled in Montana prior to 1865, 1302 had gone to Montana by the Missouri River route or over the trail would suggest that many had lived in Missouri for a time at least before going.

up granite markers at all the principal places along that portion that lies in Missouri from Boonville to Kansas City, and also along the old Boone's Lick Road from St. Louis to Boonville. Accordingly the Missouri Daughters of the American Revolution undertook to interest the State legislature in the matter and succeeded in 1913 in getting an appropriation of \$6000 for that purpose. The erection of the markers was directed by the State rightway commission and the Daughters of the American Revolution.

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CHAPTER X

THE MORMON TROUBLES IN MISSOURI

[*Historical Setting.* — The Mormon migration to Utah.]

**"Forty-
Niners"**

THE familiar story of the discovery of gold in California in 1848 and of the rush of fortune seekers into that far distant country does not need to be repeated here. Over 80,000 men made their way to California in 1849, some going across the plains, some rounding Cape Horn, and others crossing the Isthmus of Panama and then taking ship for California. Most of these going across the plains set out along the Oregon Trail and followed it until they came to the Salt Lake Valley, where they turned off to the southwest and made for the Sacramento Valley. In fact, it was along this route that the first rush of "forty-niners" passed. On reaching the Salt Lake Valley they found it occupied by a peculiar religious sect called Mormons, who had begun their migrations to this region the year previous. These people had come to Salt Lake from Illinois, where they had been living for nearly ten years after their expulsion from Missouri. Inasmuch as their sojourn in Missouri constitutes a very important historical background for their migrations first to Illinois and then to Utah, it is appropriate here to bring under review an account of that period of their history when they lived in Missouri.

**Book of
Mormon**

Mormonism owes its existence to Joseph Smith, Jr., who claimed that under the direction of God he had found certain gold plates upon which was engraved the history of ancient America "from the first settlement by a colony

that came from the Tower of Babel at the confusion of languages to the beginning of the fifth century of the Christian era." According to the record which is said to have been engraved on these plates, America was inhabited in ancient times by two distinct races of people. The first were the Jaredites, who came directly from the Tower of Babel. The second race was

x. Records
on Gold
Plates

composed chiefly of Israelites and came directly from the city of Jerusalem about six hundred years before Christ. The Jaredites were destroyed about the time these Israelites came from Jerusalem, thus leaving the latter to succeed to the inheritance of the country. Most of the Israelites, however, fell in battle toward the close of the fourth century A.D. The descendants of those who survived are the Indians of this continent. In addition, the Book of Mormon relates that "Christ made his appearance upon this continent after his resurrection ; that he planted his gospel here in all its fullness and rich-



JOSEPH SMITH, JR.

The founder of the Mormon Church. From Vida Smith's *Young People's History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints*.

ness and power and blessing ; that his followers had apostles, prophets, pastors, teachers, and evangelists ; the same order, the same priesthood, the same ordinances, gifts, powers, and blessings as were enjoyed on the eastern continent ; that the people were cut off in consequence of their transgressions ; that the last of their prophets who existed among them were commanded to write an abridgement of their prophecies, history, etc., and to hide it away in the earth, and that it should come forth and be united with the Bible for the accomplishment of the purpose of God in the last days."

2. Transla-
tion of the
Plates

These plates, it was said, were found by Smith in 1823 in Cumorah Hill, near Manchester, New York, where they had been placed in 384 A.D. by a man named Moroni. Smith, however, was not allowed to remove the plates from their hiding place until 1827, when they were committed to his keeping with the command to translate them. In about two years and a half the translation was completed and in 1830 the Book of Mormon was printed.

3. Growth in
the Number
of Mormons

With the credibility of these claims of Smith we are in no wise concerned. Most people have rejected them as preposterous. But whether we accept his claims or not, the fact of great and undoubted historical importance is that Smith was able to interest a number of people in his ideas and to get them to believe him, and that the Mormons have continually grown in numbers and are to be found in many parts of the world to-day.

Lamanite
Mission

In 1830, the same year in which the Book of Mormon was published, Smith organized in Fayette, New York, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints. Very shortly after its organization this new church undertook to send a mission to the Indians living in the western part of the country. This was a very natural thing for the followers of Smith to do. The Book of Mormon contained many promises to the Lamanites, the descendants of the Israelites who had come to America in very early days, and as the Indians were supposed to be the Lamanites, it is not at all surprising to find that in 1830 a mission was sent out to the Indians living in what is now Kansas.

1. Journey
to Inde-
pendence,
Missouri

On their way west the four men who composed this mission came to Kirtland, Ohio, where they tarried for a while, preaching and converting men and women to their new gospel. A church was organized at Kirtland and in a short time congregations were established in a great many other places in Ohio.¹ In the course of the year

¹ The Mormons soon developed a very extensive propaganda and sent out missionaries not only to the Indians, but also to the whites throughout the United States and in other countries. So successful

1831, Smith removed from New York to Kirtland and made that the center of his activities for several years.

From Kirtland the mission to the Lamanites proceeded to Independence, Missouri, arriving at the latter place early in 1831. Here it was decided that two of their number should secure employment at their trade of tailoring while the remaining three should cross the frontier line and enter the reservation of the Shawnees and the Delawares.¹ The Indians were said to have been much interested in the message that was thus brought to them by these missionaries, but the Indian agents soon interfered and compelled the Mormons to withdraw from the reservation. When the expelled missionaries returned to Independence, they consulted with their brethren there, and it was decided that one of their number, Parley P. Pratt, should return to Kirtland and report to the Prophet the outcome of their efforts.

2. Failure of the Mission

Shortly after the return of Pratt to Kirtland, Smith announced that he had had a revelation in which he and Rigdon were commanded to journey to western Missouri as soon as possible and to consecrate there the land of Zion. About the middle of June, 1831, Smith and a party of seven persons started out on their journey, going by way of Cincinnati and St. Louis. At the same time twenty-eight elders were sent out two by two through the different Western states to preach and baptize and ultimately to meet the Prophet in western Missouri.

The Founding of Zion at Independence

About the middle of July, 1831, the Prophet and his party arrived at Independence, having made the journey on foot from St. Louis to that point. In due time those who had been sent out to the other Western states began to

1. Ceremonies, August 2 and 3, 1831

were they in these missionary enterprises that they were able to announce by 1833 that they had established "congregations in nearly all the Northern states and in some of the Southern, with baptisms from 30 to 130 in a place."

¹ The mission was increased from four to five by the addition of a new recruit at Kirtland.

arrive also. Smith was greatly delighted with the new country; he declared that it had been revealed to him that this was "the land of promise and the place for the city of Zion," and that the Saints should make extensive purchases of land in this vicinity as soon as possible. In order that the world might know what God had ordained, two ceremonies were observed by Smith. In



TEMPLE LOT AT INDEPENDENCE, MISSOURI

Dedicated by Joseph Smith, Jr., on August 3, 1831. Now in possession of the "Hedrickites," one of the Mormon sects. Beyond the trees in the picture the "Hedrickites" have built a frame church building. See the next picture. To the left in this picture, and across the street from Temple Lot, is the "Rock Church" of the Reorganized Latter Day Saints. In another part of the town the Utah Mormons have erected a church building. Each of the three sects hopes some day to build the temple on this lot.

one the foundations of the future city of Zion were symbolically laid, and in the other the site of the future temple was consecrated and the cornerstone symbolically laid. These ceremonies were held on August 2 and 3, 1831. More than eighty-six years have passed since they took place, and as yet Zion has not been built nor has the temple been erected on this sacred site. But from that time to this every Mormon sect has held firmly to the hope and belief that some day it will be able to bring about the realization of those things which were foretold by the Prophet in 1831.

At that time Independence, which was designated by Smith as the central place of Zion, was a small, struggling frontier town. Under the rule of the Saints it was to be transformed into a model city with a large and bustling population. According to a plan which was drawn up in June, 1833, the city was to be one mile square and divided into blocks, all of which were to be forty rods square, containing ten acres each, except the middle range of blocks running north and south, which were to be forty by sixty rods and to contain fifteen acres each. This middle tier of blocks was to be reserved for public

2. Plan for the Rebuilding of Independence



THE "HEDRICKITE" CHURCH BUILDING ON TEMPLE LOT

The "Hedrickites" came to Independence from Illinois in 1867. One of the original "Hedrickite" immigrants to Independence, Mr. George P. Frisbie, stands beside the building. From a photograph taken by Professor Mark Burrows of the Kirksville State Normal School in November, 1917.

buildings, temples, tabernacles, schoolhouses, and the like. All the other blocks were to be divided into half-acre lots, on each of which was to be erected a house. All houses were to be built twenty-five feet back from the street, the space in front being for lawns and ornamental trees, shrubbery, or flowers, and that in the rear for gardens. Lands on the north and south of the city were to be laid out for barns and stables for the use of the people, thus removing such buildings from the vicinity of their homes. Lands for farming also were to be laid off to the north and south of the city, and to the east and west if necessary, but the farmers were to live in the city

itself. It was supposed that such a city would accommodate from 15,000 to 20,000 people.

3. Migration
of Mormons
to the Land
of Zion

Shortly before Smith arrived at Independence a band of about sixty Mormons came from Colesville, New York, and settled on the edge of a large prairie about twelve miles west of Independence in what must be now the suburbs of Kansas City. It was in their settlement that Smith laid the foundations of Zion on August 2. Later on other settlements were made by the Mormons in different parts of Jackson County. By the middle of 1833 they had established several "stakes"¹ in the county, and numbered more than 1200 souls, or about one third of the total population.

Expulsion of
Mormons
from Jack-
son County

Because of their rapid increase in numbers and because of their peculiar religious and social beliefs, the Mormons



THE COURT HOUSE AT INDEPENDENCE,
MISSOURI

1. First
Signs of
Hostility

As it stood during the Mormon troubles in Missouri. From Smith's *Young People's History*.

aroused a great deal of hostility on the part of the people in that section of the State. This hostility began to show itself as early as the spring of 1832, when the homes of the Mormons were stoned at night and windows were broken. Very shortly men began to talk of removing the Mormons from the county, but nothing

definite was done until July, 1833, when the opponents of the Mormons issued a manifesto setting forth their complaints and calling a meeting in the court house at Independence on the twentieth of that month. Several hundred people signed this manifesto and the meeting was attended by nearly 500.

¹ "Stake" is the Mormon term for local church or congregation.

The first business of the meeting was to draw up an address which should set forth the grievances of the people in greater detail than had been done in the original manifesto. After characterizing the Mormons as little above negroes as far as property and education were concerned, and charging them with exerting a corrupting influence on the slaves; after asserting that the Mormons were daily boasting that they would appropriate the land of the Gentiles to themselves; and after forecasting the future, when through continued immigration the Mormons should far outnumber the Gentiles, the address closed with these demands:

2. Address of the Citizens of Jackson County to the Mormons

"That no Mormon shall in future move or settle in this county.

"That those now here who shall give a definite pledge of their intention within a reasonable time to remove out of the county shall be allowed to remain unmolested until they have sufficient time to sell their property and close their business without any material sacrifice.

"That the editor of the *Star*¹ be required forthwith to close his office and discontinue the business of printing in this county; and as to all other stores and shops belonging to the sect, their owners must in every case strictly comply with the terms of the second article of this declaration; and upon failure, prompt and efficient measures will be taken to close the same.

"That the Mormon leaders here are required to use their influence in preventing any further emigration of their distant brethren to this county and to counsel and advise their brethren here to comply with the above regulations.

"That those who fail to comply with the requisitions be referred to those of their brethren who have the powers of divination or of unknown tongues to inform them of the lot that awaits them."

After adopting the address the meeting took a recess of two hours in order that a committee might confer with the representative leaders of the Mormons. In due time the committee reported back to the meeting that these

3. Mobbing of the Mormons

¹ The *Morning and Evening Star* was the official paper of the Mormons in Missouri, having been established by them in June, 1832. It was suspended in July, 1833, as the result of the troubles in Jackson County.

leaders "declined giving any direct answer to the requisitions made of them and wished an unreasonable time for consultation not only with their brethren here but in Ohio." The meeting thereupon voted unanimously to raze the printing office to the ground and to seize the type and press. This resolution was immediately carried into effect, and in addition several Mormons were tarred and feathered.

**4. The Mor-
mons Agree
to Leave
the County**

Three days later the Missourians gathered again in Independence, this time carrying a red flag and bearing arms. The result of this gathering was a written agreement between a committee of the Gentiles and some of the Mormon leaders to the effect that the latter with their families would move from the county by the following January, and that they would use their influence to induce their fellow Mormons to do likewise, one half by January 1 and the rest by April 1. They also agreed to do all they could to prevent further immigration of their brethren into the county. For more than two months after this there was no further trouble.

**5. Mormons
Decide Not
to Leave**

It soon became evident, however, that the Mormons did not intend to observe this agreement. One of their number was sent to Kirtland to advise with the church officers there.¹ It was decided by a council held at that place that legal measures should be taken to establish the rights of the Saints in Missouri and that a petition should be submitted to the governor of the State appealing to him for assistance in their behalf. In reply to this petition Governor Dunklin expressed considerable sympathy with the Mormons in their troubles and assured them he would use all the means which the constitution and laws of the State placed at his disposal to avert the calamities which threatened them. He advised them to

¹The headquarters of the Mormons were as yet at Kirtland, Ohio. The Prophet returned to that place shortly after dedicating Temple Lot in Independence in 1831, and came to Missouri only on occasional visits until his final removal to the State in 1837.

invoke the laws and promised that, if these could not be peaceably executed, he would take steps to secure their enforcement.

This reply from the governor in October gave the Mormons renewed courage. Early in August they had been assured by the Prophet that the Lord had revealed to him that Zion could not fail and could not be moved out of her place. But now that the highest authority in the State had pledged them his support, they resumed their occupations and began to erect more houses and to improve their places as if they intended to remain permanently. Moreover, they engaged the services of four Clay County lawyers to look after their interests. Among these lawyers were Doniphan¹ and Atchison. Meanwhile immigration of new members from Ohio and other parts of the country continued. And as if to remove all uncertainty as to their plans and intentions, the Mormons made a public declaration on Sunday, October 20, 1833, that they intended to remain and defend their lands and houses.

Hostilities in a more violent form than ever were not long in breaking out. On the night of October 31 a mob attacked a Mormon settlement on the Big Blue, a stream about ten miles west of Independence. They unroofed and demolished twelve houses, severely whipping some of the men, and frightening the women and children so badly that they fled for refuge into the outlying country in the middle of the night. On the following night Mormon houses in Independence were stoned and the church store was broken into and pillaged. The Mormons appealed to a justice of the peace for a warrant to arrest the marauders, but were refused, notwithstanding the letter of Governor Dunklin which they presented. When later they took before the same officer one of the mob whom they had caught in the act of destroying their property,

6. Renewal
of Hostilities
against the
Mormons

¹ This was the Alexander Doniphan of later fame in the Mexican War.

the justice not only refused to hold him, but issued a warrant against four Mormons for false imprisonment and had them lodged in jail.

Finding themselves denied the protection of the courts, the Mormons proceeded to arm themselves and to establish night patrol service throughout their settlements. On the next day (November 2) a second attack was made upon Big Blue, in which many shots were exchanged and at least two Mormons were wounded. On November 4, "Bloody Day" in the annals of the Mormons, attacks were made upon several of the Mormon settlements in the county; an attempt was also made to mob some Mormons during the course of their trial in the court house at Independence, and but for the prompt action of the sheriff the attempt might have succeeded.

7. Mormons
Move to
Clay County

Under these circumstances it became apparent to the Mormons that they could not remain in Jackson County any longer, and they began to make preparations to remove at once to some other place. At first they decided to go to a point fifty miles south of Independence, to what was then called Van Buren County (now Cass), but as the people of Jackson County would not consent to this, they agreed to go across the Missouri River into Clay County. For two days, November 6 and 7, the ferries were crowded with the fleeing refugees, most of whom were in dire distress. Encamped on the northern bank of the Missouri, they presented a strange spectacle. "Hundreds of people were to be seen in every direction; some in the open air, around their fires, while the rain descended in torrents. Husbands were inquiring for their wives and women for their husbands, parents for children and children for parents. Some had the good fortune to escape with their family, household goods, and some provisions; while others knew not of the fate of their friends and had lost all their goods. The scene was indescribable."

Not all the Morinons in Jackson County, however,

joined the exodus on November 6 and 7. There were still a few families scattered here and there in the county, but these were threatened and abused so harshly that they also were finally forced to leave. By the close of the year not a Mormon was left in the county.

The distress that had come upon the Mormons by their sudden expulsion from Jackson County was somewhat relieved by the rather kindly manner in which they were received in Clay County. Here they were allowed to occupy every vacant cabin they could find and to erect temporary shelters until they could build homes of their own. Some of the women were employed as domestic servants in the homes of the well-to-do farmers; others taught school, while the men worked at any sort of employment they could find. For three years the Mormons dwelt in peace in Clay County and enjoyed a degree of prosperity.¹

8. Receptio
in Clay
County

Meanwhile, through legal proceedings in the courts the Mormons sought to secure redress for the losses which they had sustained in Jackson County; but failing in this, they petitioned the governor to restore their possessions and to protect them in the use of their property. They also asked that they be allowed to organize themselves into Jackson County Guards to assist the militia in affording them protection. These requests, however, the governor declined to grant.

Attempts of
the Mor-
mons to
Secure
Redress

¹ There was an early prospect of friction between the Mormons and the people of Clay County through an attempted invasion of the county by a Mormon army from the east. In February, 1834, Pratt and Wight arrived in Kirtland from Jackson County and related in full the story of the expulsion of the Saints from Jackson County. The Prophet thereupon announced a new revelation by which he was directed to raise an army and lead it to the help of the distressed Saints in Missouri. Accordingly an army of 200 men, known as the Army of Zion, was gathered at Kirtland and started toward Missouri in May. But it was destined to an inglorious end. Owing to the warnings that were given to Smith by Missourians as his army approached Clay County and as it later entered that county, he concluded to disband it and let the men go their way.

Later an attempt was made to arbitrate the differences between the contending parties. A meeting at Liberty was arranged for June 16, 1834, between the Mormons and a committee from Jackson County, at which it was proposed by the committee that the value of the lands and the improvements thereon of the Mormons in Jackson County be ascertained by three disinterested appraisers, and that the people of Jackson County agree either to pay the Mormons the valuation fixed by the appraisers, with one hundred per cent added within thirty days of the award, or to sell out their lands to the Mormons on the same terms.¹ The Mormons declined these terms and proposed counter terms, but these likewise were declined by the Jackson County people. The result was that the attempt to arbitrate failed.

**Troubles
in Clay
County**

**1. Increase
in the
Number of
Mormons**

Although the Mormons dwelt in peace in Clay County for about three years, there were signs of an impending conflict some time before the end of that period. Owing to the rapid growth of the Mormons through immigration, the natives were made to realize that in a short time they would be greatly outnumbered. This prospect of being reduced to a minority in their own county was not at all pleasing, especially when the Mormons began to announce rather boldly that their church would some day acquire possession of all the land in that part of the country.

**2. Mass
Meeting of
Citizens at
Liberty**

Under these circumstances the feeling toward the Mormons became very bitter in Clay County, and matters were brought to a crisis through a public meeting held in the court house at Liberty in June, 1836. In a set of resolutions adopted by the meeting, the Mormons were reminded that when they had been received as exiles from

¹ While the fifteen Jackson County committeemen were crossing the river on the way home, their boat upset and seven of their number were drowned. Inasmuch as the weather was calm and there was no apparent explanation for the sinking of the boat, the Mormons declared that the angel of the Lord had sunk it.

Jackson County it had been the understanding that they should leave whenever "a respectable portion of the citizens" of Clay County should so designate, and they were then informed that the time for their departure had come. The reasons offered for demanding the removal of the Mormons were: their declarations that the land was destined to belong to them and to the Indians, their hostility to slavery, and their peculiar religious tenets. They were urged to seek new homes for themselves, preferably in the Territory of Wisconsin. The newly arrived immigrants were advised to leave at once, the non-landholders were told to go after harvest, and the owners of forty acres or more as soon as they could dispose of their real estate.

Seeing that it was useless to remain in Clay County under these circumstances, the Mormons decided to leave, and in casting about for a new location they decided that they would like to live in the northern part of what was then Ray County, provided it could be cut off from Ray and made into a separate county. They had been more or less acquainted with the advantages of that region for some time, as some of their number had traveled over it in 1834 and had described it in glowing terms to their brethren in Clay County. Accordingly the Mormons petitioned the legislature to cut off the upper part of Ray County and organize it into a new county, and they succeeded in getting the legislature to do this in December, 1836. Although there was nothing in the act of the legislature which created this county (called Caldwell) devoting it to the use of the Mormons, it was, however, created with the understanding that that was what the new county was for. In a short time the Mormons moved out of Clay County almost *en masse* and settled in Caldwell.¹ They came also from the other counties in which

**Settlement
of the Mor-
mons in
Caldwell
County**

**1. Creation
of Caldwell
County**

¹ Some of them began to come into this region even before the new county was created. Several Mormons moved from Clay County and settled on School Creek in October, 1836.

they had settled. There were but few people living in the new county when it was organized, and these offered no objection to the settlement of the Mormons in their midst. Many of the Mormons were able to acquire land either by purchase or by entering government land, but many of them were so poor that they were compelled to find employment in the adjoining counties.

2. Far West As the county seat of their new home, the Mormons founded in the western part of the county a town which



VIEW OF FAR WEST AS IT IS TO-DAY

Far West was the Mormon capital in Missouri in 1837-38. It contained 3000 people at the time the Mormons were expelled from Missouri. It soon disappeared after the Mormons were driven out. From Smith's *Young People's History*.

they called Far West and which was eight miles west of the present county seat, Kingston. The town was beautifully situated and commanded a fine view of the surrounding country for many miles. It was laid out liberally and with a view to its future growth and development on a large scale. The original town plot embraced a square mile. In the center of the town was a large public square, approached by four main roads running east and west and north and south, each a hundred feet wide. In the center of the public square there was to be erected a temple of considerable size and beauty. The blocks



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of the town were laid out so as to contain four lots of one acre each. Very soon after Far West was founded it became a thriving town, inhabited, of course, practically by Mormons only, and by the fall of 1838 it had a population of about 3000.¹

Inasmuch as the population of the new county was largely made up of Mormons, they had complete political control of it. Of the officials, two judges, thirteen magistrates, the county clerk, and all of the militia officers were Mormons.

3. Mormon Control of the County

Early in 1838 Joseph Smith, the Prophet, and Sidney Rigdon, probably the most important of the Prophet's followers, arrived at Far West, having been forced to flee from Kirtland, Ohio, on account of the failure of the Mormon bank at that place. This bank issued notes, as other state banks were accustomed to do at that time,² and got along very well until it was pressed to redeem some of them. Following upon this came prosecutions for violations of the banking law of Ohio, which resulted in the conviction of both Smith and Rigdon. It was after they had been convicted that they fled to Missouri.

4. Arrival of Joseph Smith at Far West

Notwithstanding these financial difficulties, Smith and Rigdon were received by their followers in Missouri with great joy, and much was said about the early establishing of Zion in Missouri in fulfillment of Smith's prophecies.

But Smith and Rigdon found conditions among the Saints very bad indeed. Grave dissensions had arisen among them and several of their leaders had been expelled from the church on very serious charges. Among those who were expelled were Oliver Cowdery and David Whitmer, two of the three men who claimed they had

5. Dissensions among the Mormons

¹ The present post office of Far West is Kerr. All of the Mormon houses have disappeared, but there still remains the excavation that had been made in the center of the public square for the temple. A large, rough, unhewn stone stands in each corner of the excavation.

² See Chapter VII on "Early Banking in Missouri."

seen the golden plates.¹ It is not necessary for us to go into the details of these religious dissensions of the Mormons, but it should be mentioned that these troubles occasioned the rise of an organization among the Mormons called the "Danites." This organization was maintained for many years and acquired in time a very unsavory reputation for dark and violent deeds.

**The Gather-
ing of the
Storm**

Notwithstanding these internal discords in the church, Smith showed no sign of being discouraged, but took hold of affairs and announced from time to time new projects that had been authorized, he claimed, by divine revelation. Among other things, he ordered the founding of other "stakes" in Daviess and Carroll counties, to the great dismay of the Gentiles in those counties, who saw in this the beginning of a great Mormon expansion throughout the State. Smith ordered also that work should begin on the new temple at Far West on July 4, 1838. The laying of the cornerstone of this building was the



SIDNEY RIGDON

One of the most prominent early Mormon leaders. From Smith's *Young People's History*.

occasion for a big gathering of the Saints at that place and for a public declaration as to what their plans and intentions were. This declaration was made by Rigdon in what has gone down in the history of Mormonism as the "Salt Sermon," so called from the Bible text which he took: "If the salt has lost its savor, wherewith shall it be salted?" After reviewing the history of the Mormons and their relations with their opponents, he announced

1. Rigdon's
Salt Sermon,
July 4, 1838

¹ Cowdery sought readmission into the church in 1848 and was rebaptized. Whitmer never returned to the church, but shortly before he died in 1888 he reaffirmed his belief in the Book of Mormon.

an end to their patient endurance of indignities and persecutions and declared that from thenceforth they would resist all invasion of their rights. It was not very long after this that an opportunity was offered the Mormons to carry this policy of violence into effect.

The first new clash between the Mormons and the Missourians came not in Caldwell County but in Daviess County.¹ The occasion for it was the State election which occurred on August 6, 1838. In Daviess County the two political parties, the Whigs and the Democrats, were evenly divided, and both of them were striving to secure the Mormon vote in the county. When it appeared that the Mormons were going to vote with the Democrats, the Whigs were reported as planning to prevent them from voting at all. Whether this was so or not, an attack was made upon the Mormons at Gallatin on the day of the election, and several men were hurt on both sides, but no lives were lost.

2. Clash at Gallatin, August 6, 1838

When the news of this altercation reached Far West, the Mormons became greatly excited and sent a force of 150 men, including Smith and Rigdon, to the rescue of their brethren in Daviess County, whom they had heard were in great peril. By the time they arrived, however, they found that matters had quieted down, and that there was no need of their assistance. But before returning home, they managed to extort from the justice of the peace of that part of the county and the judge-elect for the county a promise that he would administer the law justly and not join the mob against the Mormons.²

¹ Mormon settlements were made in both Daviess and Carroll counties, as well as in Caldwell.

² This promise was made in writing and is as follows: "I, Adam Black, A Justice of the Peace of Daviess County, do hereby certify to the people called Mormin that he is bound to support the constitution of this State and of the United States, and he is not attached to any mob nor will attach himself to any such people, and so long as they will not molest me I will not molest them. This eighth day of August, 1838. Adam Black, J. P."

In doing this the Mormons made a mistake, as it afforded their enemies a chance to institute proceedings against them in the courts. Indeed, warrants were secured for the arrest of Smith and others, charging them with having entered another county armed and with having compelled a justice of the peace to give them a promise of security. The trial was set for September 7.

This marked the beginning of the end of the Mormons in Missouri. From this time on the relations between the Mormons and the Missourians became more and more hostile and the demand for the expulsion of the Mormons from the State grew rapidly. In fact, a state of civil war soon came to exist in Caldwell, Daviess, and Carroll counties, and continued until the last of the Mormons left for Illinois the following spring.

3. Other
Hostilities

The details of this strife need not concern us here, although a few of the more important events may well be mentioned. Shortly after the trouble started, the Mormons began to abandon their more remote settlements and to concentrate at Far West and Adam-ondi-Ahman.¹ Those at Dewitt in Carroll County, on finding that the governor would not pay any attention to their petition, agreed to leave their settlement on being paid for the improvements which they had made, and to move to Far West. Armed bands of Mormons and Missourians rode over the country stealing and pillaging. Houses were burned down not only in the country but also in the towns.

¹ Adam-ondi-Ahman was situated on Grand River in Daviess County, twenty-five miles west of Far West. It was founded in obedience to a revelation which Smith claimed to have received regarding it. It was named Adam-ondi-Ahman "because it is the place where Adam shall come to visit his people." Smith also declared that three years before his death Adam had gathered at this place a number of priests and all of his posterity who were righteous, and had blessed them. Popular tradition in Daviess County to-day holds that the Mormons taught that Adam was buried at this place, and people generally speak of the place as "Adam's grave." But the Mormons deny that they ever held this view.

A band of about eighty Mormons made an attack upon Gallatin in Daviess County one night, burning some of the houses and robbing others. Another band defeated a detachment of State militia under Captain Bogart on the Crooked River (October 23), for which revenge was taken by a mounted force of Missourians at Hawn's Mill on October 30.

About four days before this attack on Hawn's Mill, Governor Boggs, who had begun to realize how serious the situation was, ordered General Clark to raise a force of 400 mounted men for the protection of the citizens of Daviess County, and on the next day he issued to Clark an order which has come to be known as the "exterminating order." After informing Clark that he had just received "information of the most appalling character, which entirely changes the face of things and places the Mormons in the attitude of an open and avowed defiance of the laws and of having made war upon the people of the State," he declared that "the Mormons must be treated as enemies and must be exterminated or driven from the State if necessary for the public peace." In issuing such an order as this, Governor Boggs laid himself open to criticism that has been practically unanswerable. The best defense that can be made in the governor's behalf is in the language that had been used by Rigdon in his Fourth of July Speech at Far West, in which he had declared that if the Mormons were disturbed by the Missourians any further, it should be between them a "war of extermination." But this rather extravagant language on the part of Rigdon was hardly sufficient justification for the harsh official order of the governor. From that day to this the Mormons have been able to command sympathy for their cause because of Governor Boggs' very intemperate language.

**Expulsion
from the
State**

**1. Governor
Boggs' Ex-
terminating
Order**

Acting upon the governor's orders, General Lucas started with a large force from near Richmond for Far West. On hearing of the approach of this force, the

2. Surrender
of Mormons
to General
Lucas

Mormons began to erect a barricade along the southwestern border of the town for protection. As soon as Lucas reached Far West, he demanded that the Mormon leaders should be surrendered for trial; that the rest should leave the State; that all who had taken up arms should surrender their property; and that all should give up their arms. His demands were complied with, and disbanding the main part of his force he then set out for Independence with Smith and five other Mormon leaders as prisoners. Later, General Clark came to Far West and arrested forty-six additional Mormons and sent them to Richmond for trial. He had meanwhile ordered the other six Mormon prisoners transferred from Independence to Richmond also.

3. Trial of
Smith and
Others

The trial of these Mormon prisoners was begun before Judge A. A. King at Richmond on November 12. A



THE JAIL AT LIBERTY, MISSOURI,
IN 1838

In this jail Smith and five other Mormons were placed for safe keeping after they had been charged with treason. From Smith's *Young People's History*.

long list of witnesses was examined, among whom were many Mormons who gave evidence against the prisoners. Most of this testimony was very detrimental to the Mormons, but they claimed that the witnesses had been frightened into rendering this damaging evidence.

Several of the defendants were discharged for lack of sufficient evidence. But Smith, Rigdon, and four others were ordered committed to jail at Liberty on the charge of treason, and five others to the jail at Richmond on the charge of murder. Twenty-three others were ordered to give bail on the charge of arson, burglary, robbery, and larceny. Only eight of these, however, could furnish bail.

On April 6 Smith and his fellow prisoners were taken to Gallatin for trial. Smith and four others were indicted immediately for "murder, treason, burglary, arson, larceny, theft, and stealing." They at once took a change of venue to Boone County, and a few days later they started for Columbia, the county seat of that county, under guard. But they never reached their destination. In some way they managed to make their escape from the guard and arrived in Quincy, Illinois, on April 22, where they were warmly welcomed by their brethren, who meanwhile had been driven out of Missouri.

It will be recalled that the Mormons at Far West had agreed, on surrendering to General Lucas, to leave the State. But as one might expect, they did not desire to leave and hence they sought to find some means of escape from the agreement. They invoked the aid of the legislature and asked for a law that would rescind the exterminating order of Governor Boggs and set aside the agreement which they had made with General Lucas. But the legislature failed to respond, so the Mormons finally gave up all hope of being able to stay in Missouri and began to move to Illinois. It was not, however, until April²³ that the last of them left Far West. In all about 15,000 Mormons moved out of the State.

4. Exodus of
Mormons to
Illinois

Their migration was attended by considerable hardship, chiefly because they had lost a great deal of their movable property at the hands of the Missourians during the period of strife just preceding their migration. Missourians claimed that in taking horses, cattle, hogs, and household goods from the Mormons they were merely recovering what the Mormons previously had taken from them. Many of the Mormons found themselves greatly impoverished by the time they reached the Mississippi River.

After they finally settled down in Illinois, they undertook to get redress for their grievances. In a petition submitted to Congress they stated that their losses in

Missouri had amounted to \$2,000,000. But Congress declined to have anything to do with the matter, claiming that it lay altogether with the State of Missouri.

With the history of the Mormons in Illinois we are not especially concerned. We may be justified, however, in noting that they were well received in Illinois; that they settled in a town which they renamed Nauvoo, and developed it on a large scale; that in the course of time strife arose between the people of Illinois and the Mormons, leading to the arrest of Smith and ultimately to his murder in 1844; and that finally in 1848 most of them left Illinois and made their way to Utah. It was in this latter region that the "forty-niners" on their way to the goldfields of California found them making the first efforts to establish themselves in a wilderness.

**Return of
the Mor-
mons to
Missouri**

Shortly after the Civil War the Mormons began to come back into Missouri and settle in and around Independence. By that time different sects had arisen among them, the most important being the Utah Mormons who followed Brigham Young, and the Reorganized Latter Day Saints, who chose as their leader the son of the Prophet. But the first Mormon sect to appear at Independence was the "Hedrickites," so named after their leader, Granville Hedrick, who came from Illinois in 1867. Although they have never been a large sect, and even today (1918) number less than 100, they managed to get possession of Temple Lot in Independence shortly after they arrived there. Several years ago their title to this lot was contested by the Reorganized Latter Day Saints, but after a long drawn out and bitter struggle in the courts they were able to secure a decision in their favor. Notwithstanding their small number, they firmly believe that some day they will be able to establish Zion and build a temple on this lot in fulfillment of Smith's prophecies.

The Reorganized Saints now constitute a large part of the population of Independence, and although the headquarters of their church are at Lamoni, Iowa, it is

their expectation to move these headquarters to Independence sooner or later. The Utah Mormons also have established a stake there, but they are not very numerous as yet. Each of these two sects confidently expects some day to acquire possession of Temple Lot, and each expects also that it will have the honor and glory of building the temple.

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CHAPTER XI

THE RAILROADS OF MISSOURI

[*Historical Setting.* — 1. The Railroads in the United States in 1850. 2. The Industrial Development after the Civil War.]

I. PRIOR TO THE CIVIL WAR

**First
Railroads
in the
United
States**

THE first railroad that was built in the United States for the purpose of carrying both passengers and freight was the Baltimore and Ohio. The first rail of this road was laid on July 4, 1828, by Charles Carroll, who was at that time the only surviving signer of the Declaration of Independence. At first the cars and coaches were drawn by horses, but in a year or two the locomotive engine was introduced. By 1830 fifteen miles of this road had been completed. Already other railways were being planned and in a few years were under construction, so that by 1850 a little more than 9000 miles had been built.

**Reasons
Why
Missouri
Delayed
Building
Railroads**

Notwithstanding all this progress in railroad building throughout the United States, not one mile was constructed in Missouri until 1851, unless a five-mile road whose rails and cross-ties were built entirely of timber, and which extended from Richmond to a point on the Missouri River opposite Lexington, is counted as a railroad. This road was built, it is thought, in 1849 or 1850, and was operated by horse power.

1. Conservatism of the People

The question naturally arises why Missouri was so long without railroads. The answer is to be found first of all in the conservative character of the people, which has been a marked trait of Missourians throughout their history. Railroads were an innovation in 1830, and the

general feeling in Missouri seems to have been that there should be no haste in introducing them. The bitter experiences which many other states had had in promoting railroads during the thirties no doubt strengthened this natural conservativeness of the people of Missouri. Even as late as 1847 Governor Edwards said that a campaign of education was needed to make the people appreciate the uses and advantages of macadamized roads, railroads, and canals.

In the second place, the State was fortunate in having great natural highways of commerce in the Mississippi and the Missouri rivers and their tributaries. The invention of the steamboat made these natural highways all the more important and profitable to Missouri by establishing connections not only with the outside world, but also between different parts of the State. Towns sprang up along the Mississippi and the Missouri and their tributaries, and though they were not large, they did a thriving business. Many of them were connected with the outlying districts by well-constructed roads of plank, gravel, or rock; these were, as a rule, toll roads built by private parties or companies. There seems never to have been any interest in the State in the building of canals as many other states were doing at that time.

2. Natural
Highways

In the third place, money was lacking to build and operate railroads. The population of Missouri numbered only 140,455 in 1830 and only 323,868 in 1840, and capital for such enterprises was not available among so few people, especially since most of them were engaged in agriculture. It appears also that eastern capitalists, who today furnish so much of the capital necessary to promote the great enterprises of our country, either were not able to take up railroad building in Missouri or did not consider it to their advantage to do so. From the first it was apparent to those who were interested in having railroads built in Missouri that assistance must be secured from either the National or the State government or from both.

3. Lack of
Money

Inasmuch as this government assistance was a long time in materializing, we seem to find here the chief reason for the delay in the beginning of railroad construction in Missouri.

Early Agitation in Missouri in Favor of Railroads

1. First Railroad Convention, 1836

It should not be inferred, however, that during these twenty years (1830-1850) no efforts were made to get railroads started in Missouri. Agitation for them began rather early and the first step, so far as we know, was taken in 1836. On April 30 of that year the first railroad convention held in Missouri met at St. Louis. It was attended by fifty-nine delegates from eleven different counties.¹ Resolutions were passed in which the advantages of railroads were set forth. Two lines of railroads running out of St. Louis were recommended: one was to go to Fayette by way of St. Charles, Warrenton, Fulton, and Columbia for the purpose of opening up an agricultural region; the other was to go to the valley of Bellevue in Washington County, with a branch as far, at least, as the Meramec Iron Works in Crawford County, for the purpose of developing a mineral region. Congress was petitioned to grant 500,000 acres of public lands to encourage these enterprises, and the suggestion was also made that the State of Missouri might well place its credit at the disposal of the companies that would undertake to build these roads.

2. Incorporation of Eighteen Railroads, 1837

In the fall of the same year in which this convention was held, Governor Boggs in his message to the legislature expressed himself strongly in favor of a general system of railroad construction. Acting under the inspiration of this recommendation and doubtless of the resolutions of the recent railroad convention, the legislature proceeded to incorporate during the months of January and February, 1837, at least eighteen railroad companies whose aggregate capital stock amounted to about \$7,875,000. The

¹ These eleven counties were St. Louis, Lincoln, Washington, Cooper, Warren, St. Charles, Callaway, Montgomery, Boone, Howard, and Jefferson.

roads of these companies were all to be very short, ranging in length from five to one hundred and twenty miles. They were to connect the large county towns with each other or with river points. Ten of the eighteen roads were to be less than twenty-five miles in length. The capital stock of these companies varied from \$25,000 to \$2,000,000, though in most cases it was valued at \$150,000 or less.

To appreciate this action of the legislature of Missouri, one must recall that the early thirties were a period of general speculation throughout the whole country, and that the Missouri legislature in chartering railroad companies so freely was only imitating the example of many other states. But no progress amounting to anything was ever made by these companies toward building roads, for which no doubt the panic of 1837 was largely responsible.

During ten years or more after it had become apparent that none of the companies that had been incorporated in 1837 would ever build any roads, interest in railroads declined to a very low state. The board of internal improvements which had been created by the legislature in 1838 to supervise and control all the State roads, railroads, slack water navigation, and canals that might be authorized by law wherein the State should own or reserve any interests or rights, was abolished in 1845. Moreover, the proceeds that had been realized from the sale of the 500,000 acres of land granted by Congress for the purpose of assisting internal improvements in Missouri were divided among the counties of the State to be used in the construction of roads. While the interest in railroads did not die out completely, yet it reached so low an ebb that in 1847 Governor Edwards said, as has already been mentioned, that it was necessary to begin a campaign of education among the people to convince them of the advisability of providing the State with railroads. It was not until 1850, however, that the people again became thoroughly interested in the matter.

3. Decline of
Interest in
Railroads

**Reasons for
the Revival
of Interest**

**1. Increase
in Population**

The reasons for the revival of interest by that time are obvious. In the first place, the population of the State had more than quadrupled in the preceding twenty years. In 1830 it was 140,455; in 1850 it was 682,044. This increase in population had taken place not only in the older portions of the State—that is, along the Missouri and the Mississippi—but also in the more inland parts.

**2. Recovery
from the
Panic of 1837**

Not only had there been a marked increase in the population of the State by 1850, but the business of the country at large had begun to recover from the effects of the panic of 1837, and Missouri shared in the general revival. Under these circumstances Missourians began to realize that their transportation facilities were insufficient for a notable expansion of trade and commerce. Though the Mississippi and Missouri rivers were the natural highways of commerce, navigation upon them was as uncertain then as now, especially upon the Missouri and its tributaries; and as early as 1838 the State had begun to petition Congress to appropriate funds toward making these rivers more navigable. Moreover, the toll roads that had been built were inadequate except for local purposes. If, therefore, the resources of the State were to be developed on a large scale, and if the commercial interests of St. Louis, the chief trade center of the State and of the Mississippi Valley, were to be enhanced, it was evident that better transportation facilities must be secured as soon as possible.

**3. Lack of
Adequate
Transporta-
tion Facili-
ties**

**4. Decline of
the Santa
Fé Trade**

This fact was brought home to the people of Missouri very forcibly by the decline of the Santa Fé trade. From 1821 to 1840 commercial adventurers from Missouri, especially from St. Louis, had maintained considerable trade by means of pack mules and wagons between Missouri and Mexico, as we have seen in a preceding chapter. This trade was at its height in 1828, but after 1840 it began to decline.

Not only had Missouri's trade with Mexico been cut

down, but the rapid growth of Chicago as a trading point was threatening the commercial interests of St. Louis and the rest of the State which they had heretofore maintained in the Mississippi Valley. St. Louis had a population of 80,081 in 1850 and was at that time the leading manufacturing center in the Mississippi Valley. But Chicago was coming on at a markedly rapid pace. It had grown from a mere trading post of 4470 inhabitants in 1840 to a thriving city of 30,000 in 1850. While it was as yet behind St. Louis in manufactures, having only about one fourth as much invested capital, it was well in the lead in commerce. More corn, wool, lumber, and hides were bought and sold in Chicago than in St. Louis. This was due partly to the opening up of the Illinois and Michigan Canal, which connected Lake Michigan and the Illinois River, and partly to the construction of several short railroads terminating in Chicago. Realizing the vast commercial benefits that were being derived through these railroads, Chicago was exerting herself tremendously to have them extended so that a larger territory might be reached. It seemed evident that if matters kept on going as they had started, St. Louis would lose most, if not all, of the trade that otherwise her natural position would bring her from the upper Mississippi and the Illinois country.

But there was another unfavorable prospect for St. Louis. Not only was her trade along the upper Mississippi and throughout Illinois thus threatened by the railroads that were being built out from Chicago, but there was little or nothing being done to increase her trade with the interior of Missouri. Even though the trade with the upper Mississippi and the Illinois rivers was threatened by the rise of Chicago, most of the vessels that reached the port of St. Louis in 1849 came from those rivers and not from the Missouri. The agricultural and mineral resources of the State were not being worked to anything like their fullest capacity, and hence

5. Rise of
Chicago as
a Com-
mercial
Center

6. Unde-
veloped
Trade with
the Interior
of the State

there was no prospect of any great increase in trade with the interior of the State.

**Efforts to
Obtain Con-
gressional
Assistance**

At the same time that Missourians were beginning to realize the necessity of having railroads, they were also considering how the funds for constructing them were to be obtained. It did not seem possible to obtain the necessary money from private capital within the State. Even as late as 1850 the population of Missouri was only 682,044 and the assessed valuation of their property was only \$89,460,803, and inasmuch as agriculture was still the chief industry of the State, there was comparatively little available capital for large enterprises like railroads.

**1. Grant of
500,000
Acres in 1841**

Since, therefore, it seemed impossible to get the necessary funds for railroads from private capital within the State, it was hoped that Congress might do something toward building them. We have seen that the railroad convention held in St. Louis in 1836 had asked Congress to grant 500,000 acres of public land to aid in building the two roads that it proposed. Moreover, similar petitions were sent to Congress at different times thereafter, asking for other grants of land. We have also seen that Congress had made an actual grant of 500,000 acres in 1841, which the Missouri legislature voted in 1845 to dispose of to the counties when it became apparent that none of the roads that had been chartered in 1837 would be built.

**2. Plans for
a Trans-
continental
Road**

But if there was little in this on which to base any great expectations, there was reason to believe, for a time at least, that Congress would provide for a trans-continental road that would connect the Atlantic and the Pacific, and efforts were made to get Congress to build this road through Missouri. There was, between 1840 and 1850, considerable agitation concerning a trans-continental road, and after the acquisition of California and the discovery of gold in that region, this project was discussed more than ever. The question as to where this line should cross the Mississippi was a vital one,

and three different points were proposed—Prairie du Chien in Wisconsin, St. Louis in Missouri, and Memphis in Tennessee. People in Missouri were interested in having this road pass through St. Louis and across the State, and a convention was held in St. Louis in the fall of 1849 to foster that scheme. The meetings were attended by about 1000 delegates, more than one half of whom came, as was natural, from Missouri, and more than one fourth from Illinois. But there were delegates from ten other states, including Pennsylvania, New York, Ohio, Indiana, Kentucky, Wisconsin, Iowa, Michigan, Louisiana, and Tennessee.

As far as practical results are concerned, nothing came from this agitation. Senator Benton, it is true, introduced a bill in the Senate for the building of a road from St. Louis to San Francisco out of the nation's resources, but it got very little consideration. In fact, as far as members of Congress showed any interest in a trans-continental railroad at all, they favored a northern route in preference to either of the two southern routes that had been proposed.

As it appeared that help from Congress was not to be had, the feeling grew among Missourians that State aid must somehow be secured. The experience which other states had had in attempting to construct and operate railroads as state enterprises, or in holding a certain amount of stock in railroads, was such as to make it inadvisable to do either of these things. Governor King, therefore, proposed to the legislature in his message in 1850 that the State should put its credit to the use of the railroad companies by issuing bonds and lending to them the money realized from the sale of these bonds. In return the companies were to pay annual interest at the rate of six per cent and to pay off the principal in twenty years.

The action taken by the legislature, to which this suggestion was made, indicates that it was most heartily

**Grant of
State Aid**

**1. Governor
King's Pro-
posal to the
Legislature**

**2. Law of
1851**

approved. On February 22, 1851, a law was passed which granted aid to two railroad companies, the Hannibal and St. Joseph and the Pacific. To the former there was granted \$1,500,000 and to the latter \$2,000,000. The Hannibal and St. Joseph, which had been incorporated in 1847, was to build a road which would connect Hannibal on the Mississippi with St. Joseph on the Missouri. The Pacific, which had been incorporated between 1847 and 1851, was to construct a road which would run from St. Louis to Jefferson City and from thence to the western boundary of the State.

3. Issue of
State Bonds
to the
Amount of
\$24,950,000
by 1860

Now that Missouri had entered upon a policy of granting aid in the building of railroads, it was not slow in enlarging its plans. By 1860 it had issued bonds in behalf of six different railroad companies to the extent of \$24,950,000. The roads of these companies were the Hannibal and St. Joseph, now a part of the Burlington system; the Pacific, now a part of the Frisco system; the North Missouri, now a part of the Wabash system; the St. Louis and Iron Mountain, now a part of the St. Louis and Iron Mountain system; the Platte County, now a part of the Burlington system; the Cairo and Fulton, now a part of the St. Louis and Iron Mountain system. A few words on the history of the granting of these bonds and of the progress made in railroad construction up to about 1860 are in order at this point.

Construc-
tion of the
Roads

1. Beginning
of the Pacific
Railroad in
1851

Very shortly after the legislature made its first grant to railroad companies in 1851 the work of constructing the Pacific was begun. This road was planned to begin at St. Louis and to extend to the western boundary of the State. The work of construction was inaugurated on July 4, 1851, by Mayor Kennett of St. Louis. But progress was very slow for some time, only five miles having been built by the close of 1852. However, the first locomotive used west of the Mississippi was placed upon its tracks about that time, and regular traffic on the few miles that had been built was begun.

Meanwhile, the Hannibal and St. Joseph which, as we have seen, had also been given aid by the legislature in 1851 along with the Pacific, had done nothing toward constructing its road.

If the legislature had seen fit, it could have granted aid to other railroad companies in 1851, as there were many applicants for such favors. Although it declined to make



THE FIRST LOCOMOTIVE ON THE NORTH MISSOURI RAILROAD, NOW THE WABASH

Note the small size of this type of engine as compared with the modern locomotive.

2. Grant of State Aid in 1852

numerous or extensive grants at first, the way was opened up for those companies that had received grants to ask for more help and also for others to submit their claims for consideration. When, therefore, the legislature met in 1852, it was asked to extend further aid to railroad companies, and in December of that year it authorized the issuing of railroad bonds to the amount of \$4,750,000 for the benefit of the North Missouri, the St. Louis and Iron Mountain, the Pacific, and the Southwest Branch of the Pacific.¹

Meanwhile Congress had given substantial encouragement to railroads in Missouri in the form of a land grant to the State, which was to be used in aiding the construction of the Hannibal and St. Joseph and the Pacific roads. Similar grants for other roads were made at later times.

Notwithstanding this liberal patronage of the State and the National governments, progress in actual construction was very slow. It soon became apparent that

3. Grant of Lands by Congress

4. Delay in Constructor

¹ The grants of 1851 and 1852 amounted to \$8,250,000 as follows: Pacific, \$3,000,000; Southwest Branch, \$1,000,000; Hannibal and St. Joseph, \$1,500,000; North Missouri, \$2,000,000; St. Louis and Iron Mountain, \$750,000.

more money was needed to complete the roads than had been anticipated at the outset. The actual cost of construction was from thirty to one hundred per cent greater than had been expected. Moreover, the bonds that had been issued by the State to the railroad companies had been sold at a great discount, owing to the scarcity of money. Under these circumstances the companies asked the legislature in 1855 for further assistance.

(a) Legislative Inquiry

As was natural, people began to ask why greater progress in construction had not been made and why the legislature should be asked to give more help. There was much talk of waste and jobbery, and the legislature appointed a commission to investigate the matter.

(b) Report of the Legislative Commission

The commission found that of the \$8,250,000 which had already been granted to the railroad companies in bonds of the State, only \$4,580,000 had up to that time actually been issued to them, and that less than one hundred miles of railway were in operation. It also found the different roads in varying stages of construction. The Pacific, which was the only company that had taken up the entire amount of the bonds that had been granted to it, was also the only one that had made anything like real progress in road building, having constructed its road as far as Jefferson City. The North Missouri, however, had built only a little way beyond St. Charles, and while the Hannibal and St. Joseph and the St. Louis and Iron Mountain had considerable portions of their roads under construction, neither road was completed. The commission also found that the actual cost had been greater than had at first been anticipated, but it exonerated the companies of any graft in the matter of salaries, engineering expenses, or the letting of contracts for work or materials. It concluded its report by expressing the hope that the legislature would see its way clear to extend such further aid as would enable these companies to complete the construction of their roads.

Acting under the findings and recommendations of

this investigating commission, the legislature granted \$11,000,000 in State bonds to the various railroad companies whereby they might complete what they had begun.¹

5. Legislative Grants, 1855

At the same time that these new grants were made, the legislature provided for a general board of public works through which the State would be able to keep in touch with the workings of the railroads all the time and to look after its own interests therein.

Now that the railroad companies had secured additional help from the State, the work of construction was taken up again and pushed as rapidly as possible. In fact, it is quite evident that some of the work was done in a very hasty and imperfect manner. The Gasconade River bridge disaster of November 1, 1855, on the Pacific, is evidence of this haste in construction. On that day an excursion train of ten passenger cars was started from St. Louis to Jefferson City. The road had just been completed to the latter point, and the excursion was planned in honor of that event. At about noon the train reached the Gasconade River. The stone piers and abutments of the bridge over this river had been completed, but the superstructure was as yet unfinished. A temporary superstructure had been constructed in order that this train might cross over. It was not strong enough, however, to bear the weight of the heavily loaded train, and most of the cars were dropped into the river. Several of the passengers, among whom were some very prominent citizens, were killed outright, and many others were seriously injured.

6. Gasconade Disaster, 1855

In spite of the fact, however, that extensive grants had been made to the railroad companies, it was evident that all of them except the Hannibal and St. Joseph

7. Last Legislative Grant, 1857

¹ This grant was distributed as follows: Pacific and Southwest Branch, \$5,000,000; Hannibal and St. Joseph, \$1,500,000; North Missouri, \$2,000,000; St. Louis and Iron Mountain, \$2,250,000; Cairo and Fulton, \$250,000.

were by the close of 1856 very greatly in need of more money. Once more they appealed to the legislature for help, and in 1857 another grant was made, this time for \$5,700,000.¹

This proved to be the last grant made to the railroad companies by the State. An effort was made in 1860 to obtain another one, but it failed. Thereafter no further attempt was ever made.

**Railroad
Mileage in
Missouri in
1860**

As has already been said, Missouri had by 1860 authorized bonds to the amount of \$24,950,000 in favor of six different railroad companies, or of seven if the Southwest Branch of the Pacific is counted as a separate road. Thanks to this generosity on the part of the State, which seems to have been inspired by a spirit of speculation almost reckless in character, 715 miles of railroad track had been laid by 1860. The Hannibal and St. Joseph had been completed early in 1859; during the same year the North Missouri reached Macon, where it touched the Hannibal and St. Joseph, and the St. Louis and Iron Mountain was built to Pilot Knob. Meanwhile, the Pacific was completed to Syracuse, 168 miles west from St. Louis; but the other three roads, the Southwest Branch of the Pacific, the Cairo and Fulton, and the Platte County, were as yet in a very incomplete condition.

2. SINCE THE CIVIL WAR

**Default of
Railroads
in Payment
of Interest**

As might be expected, the period of the Civil War was one of setbacks and financial difficulties for the railroad companies of Missouri. Much of the disaster that overtook them was due to the war; but even if the war had not occurred, it is quite evident from the developments of the years 1859 and 1860 that the railroad companies

¹This amount was distributed as follows: Pacific, \$1,000,000; Northwest Branch, \$1,500,000; North Missouri, \$1,500,000; St. Louis and Iron Mountain, \$600,000; Platte County, \$700,000; Cairo and Fulton, \$400,000. It should be noted that the Platte County got its first grant at this time.

were facing bankruptcy. On January 1, 1859, the North Missouri and the St. Louis and Iron Mountain failed to pay the interest due on the bonds that the State had issued in their favor. During 1860 the Pacific, the Southwest Branch, the Cairo and Fulton, and the Platte County likewise defaulted. Only one company, the Hannibal and St. Joseph, continued to meet regularly the interest charges during the Civil War period. At no time, however, did the other companies ever resume payment of interest on their State railroad bonds.

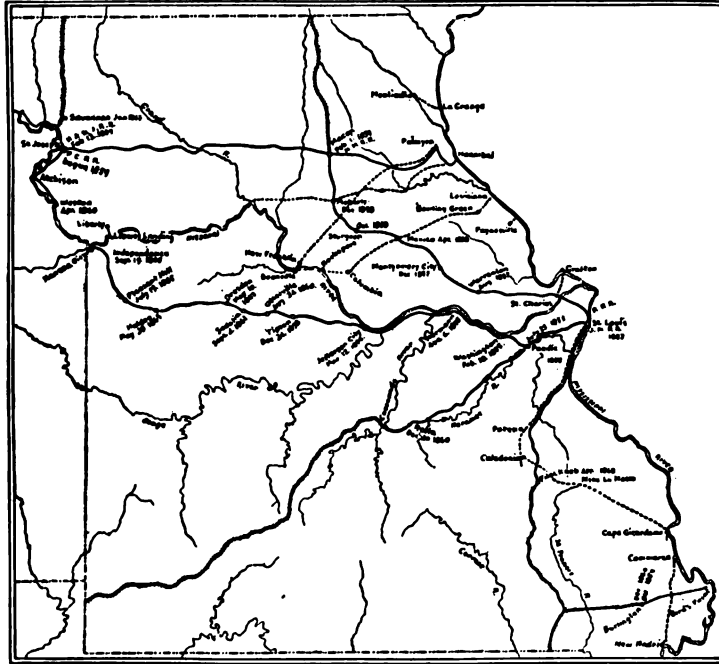
The causes for the default of these railroad companies were the lack of traffic, the unproductive character of the land grants that were given them, the excessive cost of construction, and the loose management of finances. In fact the looseness with which the finances of the companies were conducted almost warrants the charge that fraud and corruption were practiced by those in authority.

This defaulting of the railroad companies in the payment of interest on their bonds put a very heavy financial burden upon the State, inasmuch as it was compelled to pay the interest on these bonds in order to keep up its credit. This burden was thrown upon the State at a time when it needed its strength for the still greater burden that the war was destined to bring.

In spite of the fact that all of the railroad companies but one were failing to meet their payments of interest, the delinquents were actually asking for more help from the State. No one of these delinquents had completed its road, and inasmuch as the only company that was not behind in its payment of interest had finished the construction of its road by 1859, the other companies hoped that if they could only find the means whereby they could complete their roads, they too would be able to pay their interest charges. It was out of the question, however, for the State to extend any more aid, but the legislature enacted certain measures which authorized two of the

**Private
Loans to the
Railroads**

companies, the Pacific and the North Missouri, to borrow money wherever they could find it, and to give mortgages of such a character as to make those who would lend to the railroad companies the first creditors instead of the State of Missouri.



RAILROADS IN MISSOURI IN 1865

From Million's *State Aid to Railroads in Missouri*.

**Railroad
Mileage in
Missouri in
1865**

From the money that was thus realized from such loans and from bonds issued by St. Louis County, the Pacific was enabled to resume the work of construction in 1865, and by the end of that year its road was completed to Kansas City. The first passenger train from Kansas City to St. Louis made the trip on September 20, 1865.

The North Missouri was not as fortunate as the Pacific in borrowing money, but it got enough during 1865 to

begin the construction of a branch from Moberly to St. Joseph and to begin a bridge across the Missouri at St. Charles. However, neither the bridge nor any part of the branch road was completed by the end of that year.

The only other roads aside from the Pacific that actually added to their mileage during the war were the Cairo and Fulton and the Platte Country, formerly called the Platte County. But the sum total of mileage constructed during the war period was small, amounting to only 113 miles, 94 of which were on the Pacific. If we take into consideration the financial straits into which the companies had fallen, the actual destruction of many parts of the roads by hostile armies, especially of the Pacific and the North Missouri, and the generally unfavorable situation, we are somewhat amazed that anything at all was done toward extending the roads during this period.

In view of the fact that all of the railroad companies except the Hannibal and St. Joseph had discontinued paying interest on their State bonds, and that there was no prospect of their ever resuming this payment, notwithstanding the revival of business after the close of the war, the legislature decided to foreclose their mortgages on the roads and apply the proceeds upon the indebtedness of the State. Laws were therefore passed during 1866 and 1868 providing for the sale of the roads of the defaulting companies. By March, 1868, all of them were sold and the State's lien on them was released.

Sale of the
Railroads,
1868

The total amount of the railroad indebtedness of the State in bonds and interest on January 1, 1868, was \$31,735,840. Of this amount \$23,701,000 represented the principal of the bonds;¹ the remainder, \$8,034,840,

1. Amount
Received
from the
Sale

¹ The State had authorized the issue of bonds up to the amount of \$24,950,000, as was brought out in an earlier portion of this chapter, but the North Missouri forfeited \$1,100,000 and the St. Louis and Iron Mountain \$99,000 because of their defaulting in the payment of interest. In this way the principal of the State's indebtedness had been kept down to \$23,701,000.

represented the interest. The amount received from the sale of the roads and from the delinquent companies was only \$6,131,496. When this amount was applied to the State indebtedness, it was brought down to \$24,604,344.

2. Farcical Investigation of the Sale

Perhaps no chapter in the financial history of the State is as shameful as this one regarding the sale of the railroads. Charges of bribery and corruption were made on all sides, and if no other evidence was available, the way in which the legislature pretended to carry on an investigation regarding these charges would be sufficiently conclusive that they were well founded. On March 23, 1868, only a few days after the sale of the St. Louis and Iron Mountain, the Cairo and Fulton, the North Missouri, the Southwest Branch, and the Platte Country roads, and only a few days before the sale of the Pacific, the legislature appointed a joint committee of the two houses to investigate the charges of corruption and bribery. While some of the members of this committee had not voted for the releasing of the State's lien on the roads after they had been sold, yet the leaders of the committee were men who had been very energetic in securing that action and who had been all but open agents of the companies that bought up the roads. Moreover, the committee was given only one day to gather its information and make its report. As a consequence this report, as may well be imagined, was most farcical.

3. Conditions Imposed on the Purchasing Companies

However, when the sales were made, conditions were imposed upon the purchasing companies which in themselves were very desirable. All of the roads that were sold were unfinished, and the State released her lien upon them on condition that they should be completed within a given time. The purchasing companies met these conditions, thus adding 626 miles of railroads to what had already been built in the State by the time the railroads had been sold. This brought the sum total railroad mileage in Missouri up to 1450 miles.

For years the State struggled with this heavy railroad indebtedness, to which had meanwhile been added the Civil War debt, but it finally cleared itself of this burden by 1903.

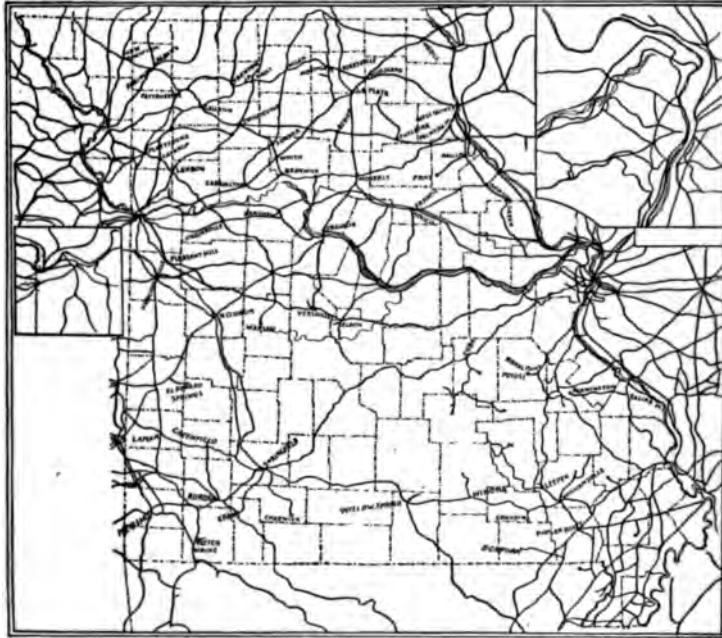
4. Liquidation of the State Debt

But the experience of the State had been a bitter one, and when the constitution was revised in 1875, it contained a clause which prohibited the use of the credit of the State to assist any private or corporate enterprise whatsoever. Through this provision the State has saved itself from any repetition of the experiences of the fifties and sixties.

Notwithstanding all these severe trials of the State, there is another chapter in the history of railroads in Missouri that is quite as disgraceful as the one we have just finished. With the restoration of peace at the close of the Civil War, there came a great expansion of trade. It was apparent under these conditions that there were not enough railroads in the State. Large sections of Missouri were without any at all, and the people wanted them very much. Many plans were proposed for supplying railroads, most of which included county and municipal aid. Companies were formed and railroads projected, and counties and cities were asked to issue bonds to assist in building these new roads. Many of them voted bonds during the sixties and seventies and issued them to the companies that had been organized. In some cases the roads were built according to the original contract, but in many instances they were not built at all, in spite of the fact that the bonds had been issued to the companies and had been sold by them. The defrauded counties tried to resist the payment of their bonds, but the courts decided against them and gave judgment for the bondholders. There are yet several counties that are struggling with their old debts for railroads that were either never started or never completed, and in many of them there may yet be found the old roadbeds of some of the unfinished roads.

County and Municipal Aid to Railroads in Missouri

In spite of all these drawbacks and disgraceful features, the railroads have been an indispensable means of developing the resources of Missouri, and a network of them has been built over the State, which in 1914 amounted



RAILROADS IN MISSOURI IN 1918

Adapted from the map issued by the State Public Utilities Commission of Missouri.

to 8208 miles.¹ At present (1918) every one of the 114 counties except Ozark, Dallas, and Douglas has at least one railroad of some sort passing through it.

**Railroad
Development
in
Missouri
since 1865**

It should be noted here that the first railroads built in Missouri were intrastate roads. Up to at least the close of the Civil War there was no intention of extending beyond its borders a road begun within the State, or of

¹ There were in the United States that year (1914) 251,027 miles of railroad.



making any road a part of great interstate systems. The roads of Missouri were to run from one point to another within the State. The Hannibal and St. Joseph and the Pacific were, for example, to cross the State from the eastern border to the western, the former from Hannibal to St. Joseph and the latter from St. Louis to Kansas City; and the North Missouri, the St. Louis and Iron Mountain, and the Southwest Branch were to radiate from St. Louis in different directions to the different borders of the State.

But though none of the Missouri roads was to cross the border lines of the State, it was expected that other lines would be built in the neighboring states to the terminations of the Missouri roads and thus give the State connections with the outside world. The first of these connections to be secured was with the East. By 1860 railroads had been built to St. Louis which gave her connection with Cleveland, Cincinnati, and Pittsburgh, and by 1863 St. Louis was able to reach the Atlantic coast by way of the railroads that were completed in that year between St. Louis and Chicago, the latter place having enjoyed railroad connection with the Atlantic coast since 1853.

By 1870 Missouri had considerably increased her railroad connection with the outside world. From St. Louis lines had been built that gave her access to such points in the South as New Orleans, Mobile, Nashville, Atlanta, and Charleston, but as yet she was without connection with Arkansas or that part of Louisiana west of the Mississippi, or with Texas. Other lines also had been built giving her access to such northern points as Des Moines, St. Paul, and Omaha.

Kansas City was by this time coming to be a railroad center in both State and interstate traffic. Many of the new roads in Kansas were built to Kansas City, and connections were established there with the newly built road to the Pacific coast.

1. Establish-
ment of
Interstate
Systems

By 1880 railroad connections were made between Missouri and the great southwest and northwest portions of our country. By means of the Missouri, Kansas and Texas, and other roads built through to Texas, a large scope of territory was made commercially tributary to St. Louis and other trade centers in the State. Since



THE PRINCIPAL RAILROADS WEST OF THE MISSISSIPPI IN 1884

1880 the railroad connections with the Southwest and Northwest have been increased, and new sections of these regions have been opened up to Missouri trade.

2. Consolidation of the Railroads

While this expansion was going on among the railroads in and out of the State, a process of consolidation was also taking place. In fact, this consolidation was one of the things that made this remarkable expansion possible. By 1898 twelve companies owned 85 per cent of the railroads of Missouri, and practically all of these twelve companies were parts of interstate systems.



REFERENCES

Million, *State Aid to Railways in Missouri*. The only real authority on the subject of early railroads in Missouri. One of the best monographs that has been written on topics in Missouri history. It deals chiefly with the loans that were made by the State to the early railroads in Missouri. The material for this chapter was drawn largely from this book. *Encyclopedia of Missouri History*, vol. v, pp. 275-291. Four short articles, one dealing with the railroads of the State in general and the other three with the railroads of St. Louis, Kansas City, and St. Joseph.



KANSAS CITY AS A RAILROAD CENTER

CHAPTER XII

THE DOWNFALL OF THOMAS HART BENTON

[*Historical Setting.* — The Compromise of 1850.]

IN 1851 Thomas Hart Benton, after having served Missouri in the United States Senate continuously for thirty years,¹ was defeated for reelection. So prominent and influential had he been in the affairs of the State and the nation, that some explanation must be given for his downfall. And if this is to be done satisfactorily, a few things should be said first about his early career and the political situation in Missouri during the period of his unquestioned supremacy.

**Early Life
of Benton**

Benton was born in North Carolina on March 14, 1782, of English and Scotch parentage. When he was a boy of eight years, his father died, leaving the care of a large family to his mother. He did not have very extensive educational privileges, attending first a grammar school kept by a New England emigrant to North Carolina, and afterward the University of North Carolina for not more than a year. In 1799 he went with his mother to Tennessee and settled upon a large grant of land which his father had secured not very far from Nashville. Tennessee was at that time but sparsely settled, and "the widow Benton's settlement" was on the border line between civilization and the powerful southern Indian tribes. Young Benton was put in charge of the plantation and apparently was successful in developing it.

**1. Removal
to Tennessee**

¹ This record has been equaled only once in Missouri history. Francis M. Cockrell served in the United States Senate from 1875 to 1905.

But he was not destined to remain a plantation owner. He looked toward the law as a profession, and soon took to teaching school and to reading law during the winter seasons. In 1806 he was admitted to the bar. At that time there was much dissatisfaction in Tennessee with the existing judicial system, and Benton interested himself in its reform. A series of articles which he published on the subject may possibly have led to his election to the Tennessee senate in 1809. During his term of one year he introduced the bill that remodeled the judiciary of that state and he also interested himself in a number of other things, such as the trial of slaves and the preëmption of government lands.

2. In Tennessee Politics

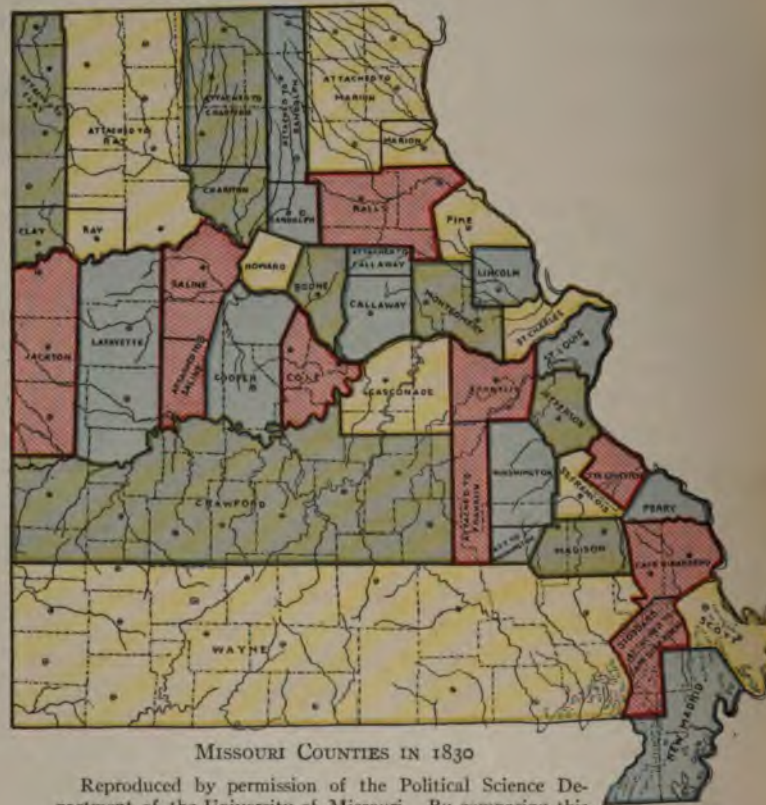
Shortly before the War of 1812 broke out, his health began to fail and he was threatened with consumption, the same disease that had caused the death of his father and five of his brothers. He was in great despair over the matter and "is said to have hailed the outbreak of the war as an opportunity to end his life in action rather than in the slow progress of a fatal disease." He therefore raised a regiment of Tennessee recruits and placed it under General Andrew Jackson, with whom he had been on intimate terms for some time. But Benton's ambitions were never realized, greatly to his disappointment. His Tennessee regiment was never called into active service, and, although he was later made a lieutenant colonel in the regular army and started for Canada, peace came before he could get into any engagement. The open air life, however, cured him of the incipient disease, and he came out of his service in the army a very vigorous man.

3. Service in the War of 1812

Unfortunately he and Jackson fell into a violent quarrel during the war. While he was off on a trip to Washington in 1813 and incidentally doing Jackson a great service there, Jackson consented to act as a second in behalf of a man named Carrol in a duel with Benton's brother. When Benton returned and found out what had happened, he was furious and denounced Jackson in unmeasured terms,

4. Quarrel with Jackson

whereupon Jackson swore publicly that he would horse-whip Benton at their next meeting. Sure enough, the next time they met they fell upon one another in true



MISSOURI COUNTIES IN 1830

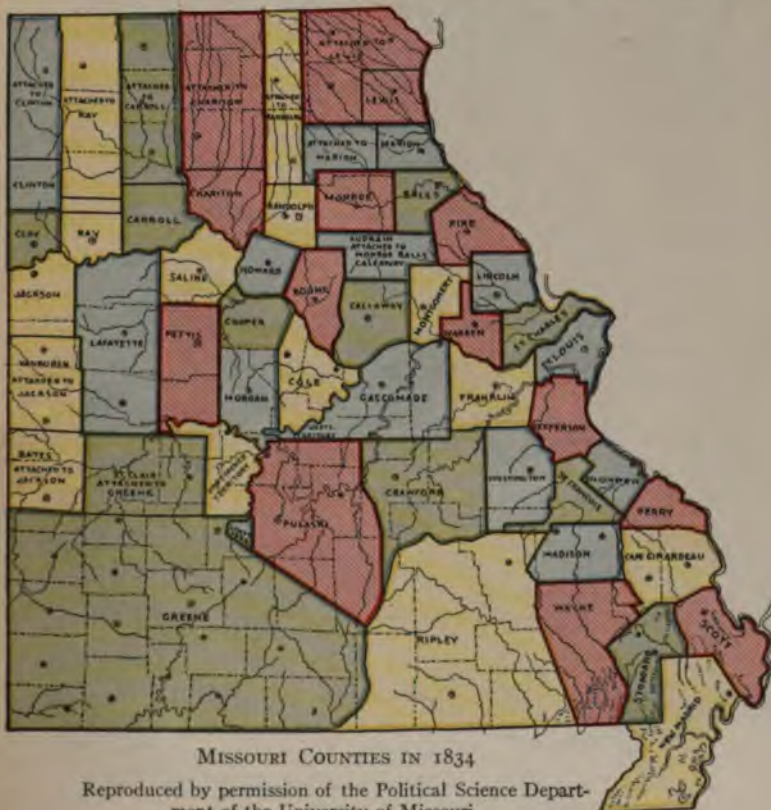
Reproduced by permission of the Political Science Department of the University of Missouri. By comparing this map with the one for 1821 on page 81, and with the five maps that follow in this chapter, one may trace the growth in the number of counties in Missouri during Benton's career as United States Senator from Missouri, that is, from 1821 to 1851.

frontier fashion, and in the fight Jackson was badly wounded. This occurred on September 4, 1813.

**Early Career
in St. Louis**

This encounter proved Benton's undoing in Tennessee. "Jackson was both powerful and popular in Tennessee

and his friends made it hot for the Bentons." When, later, the victory at New Orleans raised Jackson's popularity still higher, Benton had no prospect whatsoever of succeeding in Tennessee. For that reason he moved to



St. Louis some time between 1815 and 1817, and settled down to make for himself a career in this new field.

He found that it was necessary to learn a new system of law and to learn to speak French, which was still the chief language of St. Louis. By reason of his unbounded energy and industry he made himself proficient

1. Entry into Politics

in these things and soon built up a good law practice, especially in land cases. But he "paid more attention to politics than to law" and was soon making himself felt



in public affairs. In 1817 he was appointed a member of the first Board of School Trustees of St. Louis, and in 1819 he became one of the editors of the St. Louis *Enquirer* and later part owner of that publication.

2. Editor of the *Enquirer*

Through the columns of the *Enquirer* he discussed the current issues, national and local. Among the first to

engage his attention was the treaty that was made between Spain and the United States whereby we obtained Florida and in return relinquished all our claims to Texas as a part of the Louisiana Purchase. Benton was very much opposed to our giving up Texas and wrote several strong articles for the *Enquirer* against that treaty, as well as against the



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one made in 1818 with Great Britain for the joint occupation of the Oregon country. It is significant that at that time in his life he formulated some of those ideas and opinions concerning the significance of the West that later distinguished him from most of his associates in the United States Senate. He also wrote some very telling articles on the delay of Congress in admitting Missouri into the Union.

3. Election
to the United
States Senate

He was not a member of the constitutional convention of 1820 that framed Missouri's first constitution, but he claims to have been instrumental in getting that body to incorporate in the constitution a provision that no slaves should be emancipated in Missouri without the consent of their owners or without compensation. As we have



MISSOURI COUNTIES IN 1845

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already seen in another chapter, he was elected one of the first two United States Senators from Missouri in 1820 under circumstances of exceedingly great interest. He soon took high rank in the Senate, and the influence he exercised there reacted in his favor upon his constituents, who felt flattered that a representative from the most frontier state of the time should be so potent a factor in the affairs of the nation.

This is not the place, however, to follow his career in the Senate except as to what he did in that body which contributed to his downfall, and as we shall see in outlining the course of events that culminated in his retirement from the Senate, there was no occasion for his constituents to criticize his acts or policy until near the close of his



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fourth term. We shall not, therefore, undertake to deal with his career in the Senate prior to 1844.

By 1844, however, some very interesting and important political developments had taken place in Missouri, and since Benton had much to do with those developments, and since they furnish a background for his later career, which we wish to take up in detail, it will be well to deal with them here.

Political Developments in Missouri, 1820-44

1. "Era of
Good
Feeling"

Missouri came into the Union at a time when there was only one party of any importance in national politics — the Democratic-Republican party which had been founded by Jefferson. The Federalist party had begun to disappear when Monroe was first elected in 1816, and was completely gone by 1820, when he was reelected with only one electoral vote against him. This was the "Era of Good Feeling."

But matters could not long remain that way. Within the next ten or twelve years the Democratic party was reorganized under Andrew Jackson, and shortly after that the Whig party came into existence through the union of a great many heterogeneous parties and factions as the party of opposition to the Democrats. The rise and development of these two parties in Missouri need our attention for a few moments at least.

2. Early
Elections in
Missouri
Not on Party
Lines

Until the new Democratic party began to be formed, Missourians cared but little for parties, and elections for State and local offices turned more on men than on parties. McNair was elected governor in 1820, Bates in 1824, and Miller in 1825¹ and again in 1828, not as candidates of parties but as popular individuals. Likewise John Scott was elected as Missouri's Representative in Congress in 1820, 1822, and 1824 because of his personal popularity, and possibly but for the vote that he cast for Adams for President in 1824, when the election was thrown into the House of Representatives, he would have been reelected at least once more. Since this Presidential election was productive of direct results of considerable importance in Missouri politics, it is well that a few words should be said about it here.

3. Missouri
and the
Presidential
Election of
1824

It will be remembered that there were four candidates for the Presidency in 1824 — John Quincy Adams, Jackson, Clay, and Crawford — all of them belonging to the old Democratic party. It was a "scrub race for the Presidency," all the old Revolutionary "war horses" having

¹ Bates died shortly after his inauguration and Miller was elected to fill out his unexpired term.

either died or retired from public life. Clay was very popular in Missouri, having been nominated by the Missouri legislature and having been supported by Barton, Benton, and Scott, and he received more votes in the State than all the other candidates together.¹ But when the election was thrown into the House because no one of the candidates received a majority of the electoral votes, it fell to Scott, Missouri's sole Representative, to decide how the vote of Missouri should be cast. Clay's name was never presented to the House because of a constitutional provision that only the three receiving the highest electoral vote should be submitted to that body. Clay favored Adams and did all he could to throw the support he had received in the popular election to Adams. Barton was also for Adams, but Adams had polled a very small vote in the State and there was, therefore, very little reason to ask that Missouri should vote for Adams except that Clay had requested it. On the other hand, Benton had come out strongly for Jackson, and Jackson contended that since he had received a plurality of votes in the popular election throughout the country, he was entitled to the election in the House. Benton and Jackson had meanwhile renewed their friendship, and Benton felt that since Jackson had received more votes in Missouri than Adams, Scott should cast his vote in the House for Jackson. But Scott finally decided to vote for Adams, and in 1826 he paid the penalty for doing so by being defeated for reelection. Likewise Barton was defeated for reelection to the Senate in 1830.

By 1830 the foundations of the Jackson party had been laid both in Missouri and in the country at large. In 1828 Jackson carried every county in the State and was elected to the Presidency over Adams by an overwhelming majority throughout the country. Since Benton had championed the cause of Jackson in the State and had taken the lead in it, he became the most influential and

4. Formation of a Jackson Party in Missouri

¹ Clay, 1401; Jackson, 987; Adams, 311; Crawford, none.

powerful man in Missouri politics. His controlling influence is seen in the part he played in the election of the Representative to Congress in 1828. Bates was a candidate to succeed himself, having been elected first in 1826. But by 1828 he had become an Adams or anti-Jackson man, and was of course no longer acceptable to Benton and the Jackson men in Missouri. In order to defeat him, however, it was necessary to eliminate one of the two Jackson candidates that had come out against him. Benton was asked to decide between the Jackson candidates, and he promptly decided that Lane should withdraw and that Pettis should be the Jackson candidate. Handbills announcing the decision that had been made were then printed and sent to all parts of the State. The result was that Pettis was elected over Bates by a vote of 8272 to 3400.

The race for governor in 1828 was unique in that Miller, the Jackson candidate, had no opponents. For some time various Adams men were suggested as likely candidates for the governorship, but none of them stayed in the race to the end, and Miller was finally elected without opposition.

In 1830 Barton paid the penalty for having supported Adams in the contest for the Presidency in the House in 1824, and was defeated for reelection to the Senate largely because Benton turned against him. In the ten years that had elapsed since Barton had, by great exertion and at the risk of his own popularity, secured the election of Benton to the Senate, Benton had come to regard Barton as a personal enemy, and finally secured his defeat. The history of Missouri presents no parallel to this case.¹

In the campaign of 1832 Jackson not only carried the State of Missouri for himself against Clay, but he carried

¹ Barton tried to recover his lost prestige by coming out as the anti-Jackson candidate for Congress in 1832, but failed. He was later elected to the State senate and died in 1837. He was a brilliant man and played a very important part in the forming of our first constitution. But he was very dissipated and died a raving maniac.



THE DOWNFALL OF THOMAS HART BENTON 261

the whole Democratic State ticket with him. Dunklin was elected governor on that ticket by a majority of 1100 over all other candidates. By that year Missouri was definitely committed to the Democratic party and remained so until the Civil War broke out. Both the national and the State Democratic tickets were elected in Missouri in every campaign during this interval of thirty years.

Notwithstanding this Democratic preponderance, a very respectable Whig party had arisen in Missouri. In it were to be found many of the merchants of the State, especially those of the city of St. Louis, and also many of the leading people in the counties along the upper Mississippi and in the Boone's Lick country. "For years Boone County was the banner Whig county of the State."

5. Formation of a Whig Party in Missouri

It was not long, however, before the Democrats began to suffer division, as every party does that greatly outnumber its opponents for any length of time. The different factions among the Democrats in Missouri came to be known as the "Hards" and the "Softs," or the Bentonites and the anti-Bentonites. In order to understand this schism, a few words of special explanation are necessary.

Split in the Democratic Party in Missouri

Banking and the currency issue were responsible for the origin of the factions known as the "Hards" and the "Softs." In a preceding chapter the history of these subjects has been developed as far as the financial phases were concerned, so that it is not necessary to review them here. But the political phase needs now to be set forth.

1. "Hards" and "Softs"

It will be recalled that after the Second United States Bank went out of existence in 1836, Missouri chartered the Bank of the State of Missouri and authorized it to issue bank notes. Banks of a similar nature were chartered in other states, so that by the close of the thirties bank notes from a host of state banks were in circulation throughout

the country. These notes were presumably redeemable in specie on demand, but there was always more or less uncertainty as to whether the banks would always be able to respond to the demands that might be made upon them. A crisis was reached in banking in Missouri in 1839 when, because so many banks in other states were suspending specie payments, the Bank of the State of Missouri refused to accept or pay out the notes of those banks that had suspended specie payment. Men found themselves in the possession of the notes of these banks and naturally wanted them to remain negotiable. Those who favored the continued use of paper currency, especially that of the banks outside of Missouri, were called "Softs," while those who were opposed to it and who advocated the use of gold and silver as the only media of exchange were called "Hards."

(a) Benton,
a "Hard"
Money Man

Benton was an uncompromising "hard" money man, and was dubbed "Old Bullion" because of his attitude on the currency question. He exerted all his powers to induce the legislature of Missouri to pass laws which would banish from the State the "wildcat" and the "dog" paper currency of banks outside of Missouri. He was especially opposed to the circulation of all kinds of bank notes under \$20 for the reason that, when they depreciated in value, the people of small means would sustain a loss heavier in proportion than would the wealthy people. The large notes, he said, never circulated to any great extent, and when they depreciated in value the loss would fall not upon the poorer people, as a rule, but upon the wealthy in whose possession they were most likely to be found.

(b) Opposi-
tion of the
"Softs" to
Benton

But the "Softs" were able to muster enough strength to prevent the proposals of laws that Benton sent to the Missouri legislature from being adopted in full. The "Softs" were not only able to do that, but they succeeded in 1841 in getting the Bank of the State of Missouri to rescind its action of 1839 against receiving the currency of banks suspending specie payment. The

result of this situation was to drive the "Softs" into open opposition to Benton.

Meanwhile other issues had arisen in the State which forced themselves upon Benton, and since he espoused the unpopular side in each of them, they tended to increase the opposition that was rising against him. These issues were over the limitation of the terms of the judges, the reapportionment of representation in the lower house of the legislature, and the adoption of the district system in the election of Congressmen. The constitution of Missouri provided that the judges should be appointed by the governor for life, but sentiment was developing rapidly against this sort of arrangement and the demand was being made that judges should be elected for definite terms.

2. Other Issues

(a) Tenure of Judges

The constitution of Missouri also provided that each county should have at least one representative in the general assembly, but that the whole number of representatives should not exceed 100. When the constitution was made in 1820, there were 43 members in the lower house distributed among 15 counties. By 1836 the number of counties had been increased to 60 and the number of representatives to 98. In 1841 these counties had been increased to 77 and the number of representatives to 100, the constitutional limit. When in 1841-42 the legislature created 19 new counties, it was found necessary, in order to observe the constitutional requirement that each county should have at least one representative, to reduce all but two counties to just one representative each. The two exceptions were Platte, which was given two representatives, and St. Louis, which was given four. This brought on a situation of great and growing inequality. Caldwell County, for example, with a total population of 1583, had one representative, while Boone County, with a total population of 14,290, also had only one representative, and St. Louis County, with a population of 47,668, had only four representatives or approximately one for every 12,000 persons. Since the older and more

(b) Representation in the Legislature

populous counties were Whig and the new and less densely settled counties were Democratic, it was inevitable that the two parties should come to a clash over this question. As early as 1832 the Whig members of the legislature began to fight the creation of new counties, but the Democrats were able to overcome the opposition of the Whigs, and the creation of new counties went on. However, a demand arose for a constitutional convention which would deal with the matter of representation in the legislature, and as a matter of fact, a constitutional convention was held in 1845 and a new constitution that provided for legislative districts was drafted. But the constitution failed to be ratified by the people, and the matter of representation remained unchanged for the time.

) District
stem for
Congress-
onal
lections

From 1820 to 1842 Missouri had been electing her Representatives in Congress by general ticket. In that way every voter voted for as many Representatives as the State had in Congress. But Congress passed an Act in 1842 providing that in each state the legislature should divide the state into districts for the purpose of electing Congressmen. It was very clear that when the new method of electing Congressmen went into effect the central counties would lose the control they had had in determining who should be sent to Congress from Missouri. They had been able, through their large population and through the success of their political leaders in playing the game of politics, to name most of the Congressmen from the State. The central counties were therefore opposed to the district system, while the frontier counties favored it.

As has been said, Benton took the unpopular side on all three of these issues. But he was moved to do this because of his primary interest in the currency issue. He opposed a constitutional convention which would bring in these changes that were being demanded, for fear that it would overturn the salutary safeguards in the constitution of 1820 with regard to banking. He was not opposed on principle to districting the State for the election of Con-



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gressmen, but since that method of procedure would jeopardize the interest of some of his strongest political associates, he was, to say the least, not in favor of the scheme of districting the State.

By 1844 the question of the "Hards" and the "Softs" had grown into that of "Benton or no-Benton," and the real significance of the situation is seen in the State election held in that year. The Democratic State convention, which was held in Jefferson City in April, 1844, was captured by the "Hards," who proceeded to table all resolutions pertaining to State issues, such as Congressional districts, constitutional conventions, currency, and the like, and then forbade the secretary to publish the record of the votes by which the resolutions on these measures had been tabled. In fact the only issues that were dealt with in these resolutions were national in character. Although the "Hards" were in control of the convention, they decided that it would be inadvisable to force the nomination of their candidate for governor, M. M. Marmaduke of Saline County, and they therefore nominated John C. Edwards of Cole, who was a supporter of Benton but who was in agreement with the "Softs" in all State issues.

The "Softs" were naturally much dissatisfied with the way in which the convention had proceeded, and they set to work to arrange a ticket of their own that went by the name of Liberal Democratic. Judge C. H. Allen was put at the head of that ticket as their candidate for governor. Under these circumstances the Whigs decided that it would not be to their advantage to put out a State or a Congressional ticket, but to do all they could to carry the State legislature and thus defeat Benton for reelection to the Senate. As far as they voted for State and Congressional candidates, they voted for the "Softs."

Before the campaign of 1844 closed another question of very great importance was injected into the contest between the contending parties, — the Texas question and Benton's attitude to it. During 1844 the Tyler

**Campaign
of 1844**

**1. Demo-
cratic State
Convention
Captured by
the "Hards"**

**2. Ticket
Put Out by
the "Softs"**

**3. Texas
Question**

(a) Opposi-
tion of
Benton to
the Annexa-
tion of Texas

administration had negotiated a treaty with the Republic of Texas which provided for its annexation to the United States. The annexation of Texas was very popular in Missouri, but to the surprise of everyone Benton came out vigorously against the ratification of the treaty,¹ and it was due no doubt to his opposition that the treaty failed to be ratified by the Senate.

The question was immediately raised as to why Benton took this attitude. He answered it by saying that he was not opposed to the annexation of Texas provided it could be done without bringing on a war with Mexico. But he claimed that the treaty before the Senate was such as to make a war with Mexico inevitable,² and though he was not personally averse to war if it was necessary or just, he did not want to disturb the friendly relations with Mexico, inasmuch as to do so would prove disastrous to the trade between that country and the United States. That he desired to preserve this trade unimpaired is due, it has been said, to his interest in the success of his currency policy. He declared during the campaign of 1844 that "the currency question is the greatest question of the age; it absorbs and swallows up every other." He was, as we have seen, very much opposed to the circulation of the paper currency of state banks, especially the notes of small denomination. But he knew that if the small notes were not in circulation, gold and silver must be obtained to take their place, and he felt that much of this needed metallic currency might be secured through importation from Mexico if the trade relations with that country were properly encouraged. He pointed out that our trade with Mexico had really begun only in 1821, the year in which

¹ The surprise was all the greater because Benton had been bitter in his opposition to the Treaty of 1819 with Spain whereby we acquired Florida and at the same time yielded up all claims we had to Texas through the purchase of Louisiana.

² Immediately after the defeat of the Tyler treaty in the Senate, Benton introduced a bill providing for the annexation of Texas by a method which he claimed would avoid war with Mexico.



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she had secured her independence from Spain, and that the receipts from that country had grown enormously. In 1821 they amounted to only \$80,000 in specie, while in 1835, the year before the Texan revolution, they had risen to more than \$8,000,000. Owing, however, to our sympathy with the Texans, our trade with Mexico fell off rapidly after 1835, so that the receipts of 1842 were only about \$1,340,000. In view of these facts, Benton urged that everything should be done to maintain cordial relations with Mexico and to increase our trade with her in order that the stream of specie might continue flowing in our direction in ever-increasing volume. That Mexico would have the specie to pay for our commodities was assured because she had the silver mines.

Benton had, however, other reasons for opposing the treaty of annexation that had been submitted to the Senate. He insisted that it was a "scheme on the part of some of its movers to dissolve the Union, on the part of some others, an intrigue for the Presidency, on the part of others, a land speculation, and a job in scrip."

But these were not winning arguments in Missouri, and many of Benton's enemies seized the opportunity to criticize him very severely for his hostility to the annexation treaty. Indeed, many of his friends and supporters had to confess they were disappointed in his position. But Benton was very firm, and in the speeches which he



THOMAS HART BENTON

The most familiar portrait of Benton, showing him in his prime.

(b) Activity
of Benton's
Enemies

made in Missouri during the campaign of 1844 he set forth clearly and rather defiantly his views on Texas.

Victory of
Hards"
and Re-
jection of
Benton to
the Senate

Notwithstanding the combination of "Softs" and Whigs in 1844 on the State ticket, the "Hards" carried the election completely, Edward's majority being more than 5000.¹ But there was considerable uncertainty, however, as to whether or not Benton would be reëlected to the Senate.



LEWIS F. LINN

United States Senator from Missouri, 1834-43. To him was largely due the acquisition of the Platte purchase in 1837, out of which were organized the six counties in the northwestern corner of the present State of Missouri. From Houck's *History of Missouri*.

The Whigs held 53 seats in the general assembly and the Democrats 80. As only 67 votes were required to elect a Senator, the Democrats had a clear majority of 13. But no one knew how many of the Democrats were opposed to Benton, and in that state of uncertainty, Benton's enemies redoubled their efforts to encompass his defeat. However, Benton

was reëlected in January, 1845, with a margin of 8 votes. The significance of this close vote is seen the more clearly from the fact that at the same time Atchison was elected to fill the unexpired term of Senator Linn, who had died a short time before, by a margin of 34 votes. That Benton was reëlected at all was due to the fact that the "Hards" had control of practically all the newly elected members, while the opponents of the "Hards" lacked organization and could not concentrate all of their strength on one man.

Although Benton seemed secure in his position, a bigger storm was brewing, and it gathered greater force as it

¹ Edwards, 36,978; Allen, 31,357.



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developed, overcoming him when he came up for reëlection again in 1851. The issue that proved his undoing in that year was not the currency issue which had been so prominent in 1844, but that of slavery as it arose in connection with the territorial possessions acquired through the war with Mexico.

**Benton's
Last Term
in the
Senate**

Notwithstanding the fact that Benton was opposed to the United States declaring war against Mexico, he voted for it when the matter was put squarely before Congress by President Polk, and after war was declared, he favored pushing it through quickly to a successful end. He was frequently called in by President Polk for consultation on various matters connected with the war; and he even went so far as to suggest that Congress should create the office of lieutenant general of the army, to whom would be given the supreme command of the war, and that the President should appoint him to that office. Polk agreed to the suggestion, but Congress failed to pass the bill. However, the President appointed Benton as a major general, but when Benton found that he could not have supreme command, he resigned the military commission that had been conferred upon him.

**1. Mexican
War**

By the Treaty of Guadalupe of 1848,¹ Mexico agreed to the Rio Grande as the boundary between her and the United States, and ceded New Mexico and Upper California to the United States upon payment of \$15,000,000 by the United States to Mexico, and upon certain other financial considerations. The question that was thus thrust upon the United States in this treaty was how to deal with slavery in the territories acquired from Mexico. In fact that question had loomed up long before the treaty was made. As early as 1846 it had been raised when the famous Wilmot Proviso was offered as an amendment to the bill that had been introduced into Congress to

**2. Wilmot
Proviso**

¹ Benton was one of the fourteen Senators who opposed the ratification of the treaty. Meanwhile he and President Polk had become estranged and were never afterward reconciled.

appropriate \$2,000,000 with which the President might negotiate peace with Mexico. This Proviso forbade slavery in any of the regions that were to be ceded by Mexico, and was intended to commit the country in advance to a definite policy regarding slavery in the territories that might be acquired through the war that was then going on. The Proviso failed to carry, although it was introduced in two different sessions of Congress.

3. Omnibus
Bill and
Compromise
of 1850

Notwithstanding the fact that the treaty of peace with Mexico was ratified in March, 1848, it was not until more than two years had passed that Congress could agree on the kind of government that should be established in the newly acquired territories in place of the very temporary control that had been set up in them under Presidential direction. This is not the place to bring under review the struggle that went on in that body over this question. It is sufficient to note that six separate bills were finally passed which provided for: (1) the admission of California as a free state into the Union, with the commonwealth organization that had been formed by her people during the year 1849; (2) the territorial organization of Utah without any slavery restriction but with the provision that the territorial legislature should not place any restrictions upon slavery during the territorial period; (3) the territorial organization of New Mexico under the same terms; (4) fixing the boundaries of Texas and paying her an indemnity for the territory which she would thus relinquish; (5) a more stringent procedure in the recovery of fugitive slaves; (6) the abolition of the slave trade in the District of Columbia.

It had been the plan of Clay to push these measures through Congress not as six different bills but as three bills; the first was to contain the first four bills as enumerated above, the second and the third were to be the bills numbered (5) and (6) above. Because of the numerous things provided for in the first of these three bills that Clay was championing, it was dubbed the "Omnibus



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Bill." Benton was very much opposed to the "Omnibus Bill" as he considered that it was a surrender to the radical Southern men, and he contended that California had a right to be considered alone and should not be tied up with the other measures. Probably his opposition did more than anything else to defeat the scheme to push all of these measures through as one and to compel Congress to consider them separately.

When these measures came up separately we find that Benton voted for the admission of California, the organization of the territorial governments for New Mexico and Utah, and for the suppression of the slave trade in the District of Columbia. But he voted against giving Texas an indemnity for the territory she relinquished, and he did not speak or vote at all on the Fugitive Slave Bill. He was especially belligerent all during this session of Congress and frequently had to be called to order during the debate.¹

But before the famous Compromise of 1850 had been agreed upon in Congress, there burst in Missouri a political storm which swept Benton out of the Senate at the close of his fifth term in 1851. This storm was precipitated by the so-called "Jackson Resolutions" which were passed by the Missouri legislature in January, 1849. Agitation and discussion over the slavery question that arose out of the acquisition of territory at the close of the Mexican War were not confined to the halls of Congress. People were discussing that question everywhere, very much as they had done when it had been thrust into the foreground in 1819 by Missouri asking for admission into the Union. Then as now the North and the South were opposed to one another on the slavery question, but the situation differed in at least two respects: First, whereas before 1820 slavery existed legally in the territory which

**Jackson
Resolutions
in the Mis-
souri Legis-
lature**

**1. Wide-
spread
Interest in
the Question
of Slavery**

¹ During this debate Foote drew a pistol on Benton on the floor of the Senate. This is the only instance in the history of that body when such a thing ever happened.

the United States had acquired from France in 1803, it did not legally exist in the territories that had been acquired in 1848 from Mexico; second, whereas by the Compromise of 1820 slavery was, in deference to the demands of the North, excluded from a part of the Louisiana Purchase where it had legally existed, the South was demanding in 1848 that the restrictions upon slavery should be removed in the case of part or all of the territories that had recently been acquired from Mexico, so that it could be made possible to establish that institution within their borders. Of course the North sought to prevent making free territory slave, while the South endeavored to make it possible to convert any territory into slave territory by leaving the question as to whether slavery should exist in it to the people living therein. The Democrats of Missouri were largely in sympathy with the Southern view, and to insure that the Senators and Representatives from Missouri would vote "right" on the measures that were bound to come up in Congress regarding this newly acquired territory, the famous "Jackson Resolutions" were passed by the legislature.

2. Text of
the Resolu-
tions

So important were these resolutions in the struggle of Benton to retain his hold upon his seat in the Senate, that they are given here in full.

RESOLVED by the General Assembly of the State of Missouri:

(1) That the Federal Constitution was the result of a compromise between the conflicting interests of the States which formed it, and in no part of that instrument is to be found any delegation of power to Congress to legislate upon the subject of slavery, except some special provisions, having in view the prospective abolition of the African slave trade, made for the recovery of fugitive slaves; any attempt, therefore, on the part of Congress to legislate on this subject so as to affect the institution of slavery in the States, in the District of Columbia, or in the Territories is, to say the least, a violation of the principle upon which that instrument was founded.

(2) That the Territories, acquired by the blood and treasure of the whole nation, ought to be governed for the common benefit of the people of all the States, and any organization of the territorial governments, excluding the citizens of any part of the Union from

removing to such territories with their property, would be an exercise of power by Congress inconsistent with the spirit upon which our federal compact was based, insulting to the sovereignty and dignity of the States thus affected, calculated to alienate one portion of the Union from another, and tending ultimately to disunion.

(3) That this General Assembly regard the conduct of the Northern States on the subject of slavery as releasing the slave-holding States from all further adherence to the basis of compromise fixed on by the Act of Congress of March 6, 1820, even if such Act ever did impose any obligation upon the slave-holding States, and authorizes them to insist upon their rights under the Constitution; but for the sake of harmony and for the preservation of our Federal Union, they will still sanction the application of the principles of the Missouri Compromise to the recent territorial acquisitions, if by such concession future aggressions upon the equal rights of the States may be arrested, and the spirit of anti-slavery fanaticism be extinguished.

(4) The right to prohibit slavery in any Territory belongs exclusively to the people thereof, and can only be exercised by them in forming their constitution for a State government, or in their sovereign capacity as an independent State.

(5) That in the event of the passage of any Act of Congress conflicting with the principles herein expressed, Missouri will be found in hearty coöperation with the slave-holding States, in such measures as may be deemed necessary for our mutual protection against the encroachments of Northern fanaticism.

(6) That our Senators in Congress be instructed and our Representatives be requested to act in conformity with the foregoing resolutions.¹

The gist of these resolutions is contained in the fourth one. Here the Missouri legislature states plainly that Congress has no right to determine whether slavery should exist in any Territory or not, and that the people of that Territory alone have the right to settle the matter. This is the doctrine of "squatter sovereignty."

¹ These resolutions were introduced into the senate by Carty Wells and were referred to the senate committee on federal relations, of which Claiborne Jackson was chairman. Inasmuch as Jackson reported them back to the senate from his committee, they were at once known as the "Jackson Resolutions." The real author of these resolutions was Judge Napton of the supreme court of Missouri, and for that reason they are sometimes called the "Jackson-Napton Resolutions."

3. Passage
of the
Resolutions

These resolutions were introduced into the Missouri senate on January 1, 1849, and after a very stormy debate were passed by both houses on March 6 by very large majorities, the only opposition coming from the Whigs and a few Democrats.¹ Benton seems to have known about these resolutions from the time they were first introduced, and he claimed he could have prevented their adoption if he had only given out the word to his supporters in the legislature. But he chose not to interfere and allowed those who were opposing him to proceed without any protest on his part.²

Benton's
Reply to the
Resolutions

But Benton's opponents were not allowed to remain unanswered. On May 9 he was in St. Louis and issued his famous "Appeal" in the form of an open letter addressed to "The People of Missouri." In this letter he speaks of the resolutions and the instructions to obey them, and then goes on to say: "From this command I appeal to the people of Missouri — the whole body of the people — and if they confirm the instructions, I shall give them an opportunity to find a Senator to carry their wishes into effect, as I cannot do anything to dissolve the Union or to array one half of it against the other." He closed by saying that in due time he would give his reasons for this "Appeal" and by asserting that he would abide by the decision of the whole people and by nothing less.

1. His
"Appeal"

¹ The vote in the senate on the six different resolutions was as follows: (1) 24 to 6; (2) 25 to 5; (3) 23 to 7; (4) 23 to 6; (5) 23 to 6; (6) 23 to 6. The vote in the house was as follows: (1) 59 to 25; (2) 63 to 21; (3) 57 to 27; (4) 64 to 20; (5) 53 to 29; (6) 52 to 27. The final vote in the house on the resolutions as a whole was 53 to 27.

² In 1847 the Missouri legislature passed a set of resolutions instructing the Senators of Missouri and requesting the Representatives to support the principle of the Missouri Compromise when it came to providing for the organization of territories that might be obtained from Mexico. These resolutions were exactly opposite in principle to the "Jackson Resolutions" two years later. The Missouri legislature thus reversed itself in passing the "Jackson Resolutions."

During the summer and fall of 1849 Benton made a thorough canvass of the State, beginning at Jefferson City on May 26. In the addresses that he gave, he set forth at length his reasons for declining to follow the instructions that had been laid down in the "Jackson Resolutions." The main reason was that these resolutions were "a mere copy of the Calhoun Resolutions" offered in the Senate on February 19, 1849, which Benton had then denounced with all his might "as a firebrand intended for electioneering and disunion purposes." Ever since Benton had opposed Calhoun's nullification schemes in the thirties, the two men had been enemies, and Benton claimed to see the hand of Calhoun in all the efforts that were made against him in the forties in Missouri. He was therefore convinced that Calhoun was the real author and instigator of the "Jackson Resolutions," and that their purpose was not only "to deny the right of Congress to prevent or prohibit slavery in the territories and to denounce a dissolution of the Union if it did," but also to get rid of him in public life.

2. His Can-
vass over
the State

Benton not only belabored Calhoun as the instigator of these resolutions, but he showed in his addresses how the circumstances connected with their passage seriously impaired their force as instructions. "The resolutions," he said, "were introduced at the very beginning of the session; they lay torpid until its end. The plotters were waiting the signal from their leading friend — waiting for the Calhoun address. The moment they got it they acted, although it was too late for the resolutions to have the effect of instructions. They were passed after Congress had adjourned, and after it must have been believed that the subject to which they related had been disposed of; for it was notorious that the territorial government bills were in process of enactment, and in fact only failed after midnight on the last night of the session and that on disagreement of the two houses; and their failure, on the third of March, was not known at Jefferson City on the

seventh, the day of passing the resolutions. It was too late to pass the resolutions for the purpose of instructing me how to vote at Washington. It was too late for that ; but was early enough for the summer campaign at home, and therefore they were passed."

After hurling anathemas at the plotters against him, he closed his addresses by saying :

"In the execution of this design I cannot be an instrument, nor can I believe that the people or the mass of the general assembly are with it ; and I deem it right to have a full understanding with my constituents on the whole matter.

"I therefore appeal from the instructions I have received because they are in conflict with instructions already received and obeyed — because they did not emanate from any known desire or understood will of the people — because they contain unconstitutional expositions of the Constitution which I am sworn to support — because they require me to promote disunion — because they are copied from resolutions hatched for great mischief, which I have a right to oppose, and did oppose in my place as Senator in the Senate of the United States, and which I cannot cease to oppose without personal disgrace and official dereliction of public duty, and because I think it is due to the people to give them an opportunity to consider proceedings so gravely affecting them, and on which they have not been consulted.

"I appeal to the people, and the whole body of the people. It is a question above party, and should be kept above it. I mean to keep it there."

3. Reply of
Benton's
Enemies

Benton's appeal and addresses did not go unanswered. All over the State there were able and influential men who controverted his position and denounced his course. Among these were James S. Green, David R. Atchison, Claiborne F. Jackson, Robert M. Stewart, Carty Wells, and many others.

Although the contest concerning Benton was an affair



primarily within the ranks of the Democratic party in Missouri, it was not without its effects upon the Whigs, the minority party of the State. The Whigs also became divided into Benton and anti-Benton Whigs according as they favored or disapproved of his slavery policy. But quite naturally both branches of the Whigs sought to foment the differences between the Benton and the anti-Benton Democrats, for the wider the gulf between these two factions the better were the political prospects of the Whigs. The wisdom of that policy is seen in the way the campaign for the election for the members to the legislature in 1850 turned out. There were very few speeches made in Missouri during that campaign. Apparently all had been said that was needed to be said during the preceding year. Moreover, both Benton and Atchison were busy in Congress dealing with the matter commonly known as the Compromise of 1850.

**Division in
Whig Party**

When the returns from the August election in Missouri came in, it appeared at once that there would be three parties represented in the legislature, Benton Democrats, anti-Benton Democrats, and Whigs, no one of which had sufficient strength to elect a candidate to the United States Senate. "The war of the factions waged furiously," according to a contemporary Whig, "each wing of the Democratic party preferring the success of the Whigs to the success of the opposing division of their own party. Finally a portion of the line of each of the opposing forces gave way and victory perched upon the banner of the Whigs." On the fortieth ballot taken on January 22, 1851, Henry S. Geyer, a Whig and an eminent lawyer of St. Louis, was elected as Benton's successor in the United States Senate.¹ On March 4, 1851, Benton retired therefrom after having served continuously for thirty years. Even his bitterest enemies in that body regretted see-

**Benton's
Defeat in
1851**

¹ Geyer, 80; Benton, 55; Stringfellow, 18; scattering, 4. Stringfellow was the anti-Benton Democrat.

ing him pass out of it, because of his sterling integrity and his great ability.

causes of
Benton's
overthrow

The forces that brought Benton to his fall were led by the radically Southern or pro-slavery element of the Democratic party in Missouri. They did not like Benton's attitude toward slavery, and anticipating that, on the issues arising in connection with the territories acquired through the Mexican War, he would act contrary to their

wishes, they sought to cast discredit upon him by passing the "Jackson Resolutions" to which they knew he could not conform. Benton was a slaveholder and was one of the few members of Congress who continued as late as 1850 to bring his slaves with him to Washington as household servants. But from the very first he considered the institution of slavery as an evil and was opposed to its extension into places where it did not already exist. At the same time he was bitterly opposed to the Abolitionists and their



HENRY S. GEYER

Benton's successor in the United States Senate. From Stevens' *Missouri, the Center State*, by permission of the Missouri Historical Society.

agitation. He favored keeping the slaves and even the free negroes in a state of subordination as a safeguard to society, and as a means of protecting the best interests of the negroes themselves. Moreover, he knew the Abolitionists cared little or nothing for the Union, and hence he detested them for their avowed disunion tendencies. But he could not support the plans of the Southerners to suppress abolition agitation by authorizing the postmaster to exclude abolition literature from the mails.

Emphasis, however, needs to be put upon his opposition

His Atti-
de toward
avery

to the extension of slavery into regions where it did not yet exist,¹ and upon his belief that Congress alone had the right to determine whether or not slavery should exist in territories. It was this position that brought him squarely into conflict with the pro-slavery element in Missouri. According to their way of thinking, Congress had no right to exclude slaves from the territories, and moreover the people of the territories alone had the right to say whether slavery should exist at the time when they framed their state constitutions. This was indeed, as we have seen, the chief provision of the "Jackson Resolutions."

Because the pro-slavery element insisted on this point, Benton contended that they were headed toward secession and disunion, and as he stood first, last, and all the time for the Union, he was all the more bitter in his denunciation of them and their policies.

It is conceded, however, that Benton aggravated the situation by his bold and reckless defiance of the pro-slavery people. If he had ignored the "Jackson Resolutions" and had gone on his way in the Senate, debating and voting his views and opinions there, he would have given his opponents less occasion to attack him than he did by issuing his "Appeal" and following it up with a tour of speech-making throughout the State. But such a procedure was not in keeping with his nature. He was daring and fearless in spite of all kinds of opposition, and he was confident he could hold his own in an open fight.

His attitude in this matter brings out in the strongest relief the most dominant characteristic of the man—his absolute fearlessness. This was not the first time he

¹ In his speech at Jefferson City in May, 1849, he said: "My personal sentiments are, then, against the institution of slavery and against its introduction into places where it does not exist. If there was no slavery in Missouri to-day I would oppose its coming; if there was no slavery in the United States I would oppose its coming into the United States; as there is none in New Mexico or California, I am against sending it to those territories and could not vote for such a measure."

2. His "Appeal" and Addresses

**The Sources
of his
Strength
with the
People**

**1. His
Fearlessness**

had defied public opinion. We have seen how he had opposed the annexation of Texas when practically all of Missouri favored it. We have seen also how he had taken the unpopular side in a number of State issues. Everybody recognized him as a man of great boldness and courage, both moral and physical, and although these very traits finally led him into a conflict with his constituents that resulted in his downfall, they were among the things that won for him their support during the greater part of his career.

**2. His Fine
Physique**

There were other things besides his fearlessness that caused the people to admire Benton. Physically he was tall, robust, and muscular. He attracted attention wherever he went by his fine physique, strong features, stately movements, and neat dress. All during his public career he enjoyed good health and was vigorous to the end. He was free from the vices common to men in public life in his time. He did not drink, and except for his profanity when provoked, he was pure and chaste in thought and word. He was devoted to his family, and though inclined to rule his household somewhat strictly according to his own notions, he was frequently very indulgent and generally companionable with his children and grandchildren. He was very generous, and died a poor man.

**3. His Wide
Knowledge**

He was noted for his wide range of information and for his unquenchable thirst for knowledge. He did not seek for information from books alone, but also from his own observations and companions and from every conceivable source. "Hunters and trappers, scouts, wild half-breeds, Indian chiefs, Jesuit missionaries, army officers back from the plains, were all eagerly sought by him and contributed those facts which made up his vast knowledge of unsettled America." He was never satisfied with a superficial knowledge of any matter, and he frequently was able to convince his opponents in the Senate that he was right because his knowledge of the matter in dispute was much more extensive than theirs.



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Benton was noted for his political integrity. It was due largely to him that a number of petty grafts that had been allowed to exist by Congressmen were stopped. He was bitterly opposed to lobbyists, and he detested office seekers. He opposed a number of rules and regulations of Congress that would permit hasty legislation and that savored of being undemocratic.

4. His
Political
Integrity

Moreover, he was a true Westerner and had an abiding faith in the future development of the West. He therefore favored everything that tended to make it stronger and better, and was regarded as the champion of cheap land, the fur trade, and western expansion.

5. His Belief
in the West

It was because of these personal qualities that Benton was enabled to maintain his hold upon the common people so long. They felt that in him they had a champion who would not betray their best interests, although he considered himself their superior and held himself aloof from them. They were proud of the high rank he had taken in the councils of the nation. He was always classed with Clay, Calhoun, and Webster, and to a great many he stood first in this famous group of four.

But over against these traits and characteristics there were others that contributed to his downfall. In the first place, he was given to certain ways that tended to alienate his friends and supporters. He was very vain and egotistical; he was austere, reserved, and distant; he lacked personal magnetism. He had little or no patience with anyone who disagreed with him, and did nothing to conciliate or win over those who opposed him. He was strong in his prejudices and considered himself wiser than others, and demanded that his friends should accept his views and opinions without any question. He brooked no opposition, and would rather drive an adherent from his support than attempt to win him by forbearance, toleration, and conciliation. He was very personal in his public utterances and was given to abusing roundly all who dared to oppose him. Ridicule was a favorite weapon, and when

Contributing Causes
of his
Downfall

1. His
Vanity and
Haughtiness

angered he would indulge in a great deal of profanity in his public addresses. Vindictive and unforgiving, tyrannical and dictatorial, he always aimed to crush those who differed with him.

His Lack
Political
:t

In the second place, "Benton was no politician. He moved to Washington soon after his first election and made his home there the rest of his life. He came back to St. Louis every summer and every few years he went on a tour to the principal towns of the State. He did not know the younger men growing up in politics and did not care to. He expected the party to take his advice and orders, and laughed at the younger men as 'boys.' Frank P. Blair was the only young leader whom Benton liked and trusted. Benton refused to ask for offices and appointments for his followers and so build up a party. His idea was to appeal directly to the people through his speeches in Congress and through the newspapers, and to ignore the local leaders."

For many years these political methods of Benton succeeded fairly well. The politicians did not like him and chafed under the situation, but they had to submit because the people trusted him. Benton was never really popular in Missouri with the people, but he was greatly admired by them, and hence the politicians found they had to endure what they did not like at all.

is of In-
sance dur-
the Last
1 Years of
vice

But during the last ten years of his service in the Senate, Benton began to lose influence both at Washington and at home. During that time the control of the Democratic party had fallen very largely into the hands of Calhoun and other leaders from the South who, according to Benton's view, were bent upon breaking up the Union. Since Benton's political creed was based on the preservation of the Union, he became irreconcilably opposed to Calhoun and his supporters, and in so doing became less influential in his party. We have also seen how his attitude on the money and the Texas questions had been unpopular with a great many of his political friends and



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supporters at home, and how he had been forced to struggle to retain his seat in 1844. We have also seen how he had openly quarreled with President Polk, thus adding to the strength of the opposition against him.

Moreover, there was a very pronounced feeling among all Western people against any man holding one office too long. The younger men who were rising in the Democratic party in Missouri applied this doctrine of short terms and rotation in office to Benton, and plotted to get him out of the way. Their attacks upon him were all the more effective because of those traits and characteristics of Benton that were more or less repellent. They enlarged upon his foibles and emphasized his aloofness and airs of superiority.

The defeat of Benton for reelection to the Senate in 1851 did not mean, however, his immediate retirement from public life. In 1852 he was elected to Congress from the first Missouri district. The contest was a very spirited one and was marked with considerable vituperation and abuse on the part of Benton. There were three candidates in the field, two Democrats and one Whig. Benton was elected, however, by a plurality of nearly 600 votes.¹

On entering the House, Benton was treated with much respect and was assigned to the chairmanship of the committee on military affairs which he had held so

¹ Benton, 7844; Bogy (Democrat), 2072; Caruthers (Whig), 7260.



Later Career

THOMAS HART BENTON

In later life. From Stevens' *Missouri, the Center State*, by permission of the Missouri Historical Society.

1. In the House of Representatives

long in the Senate. Whenever he spoke, the members would generally gather around him and pay him the closest attention. But he was not as active in the House as he had been in the Senate, partly because of the limitation upon debate that necessarily exists in the House and partly because he was very much engrossed in literary work. The greatest speech made by him in the House was on the Kansas-Nebraska bill, which he vehemently denounced. In taking this stand he was putting himself in opposition to the party that had elected him, and when he came up for reelection in 1854 he was defeated by a plurality of nearly 1000.¹

**2. Attempt
to Reënter
the Senate**

Although the defeat was very humiliating to Benton, he sought to regain entrance to the Senate by opposing Atchison for reelection in 1855. Three candidates were in the field: Atchison (anti-Benton), Benton, and Doniphan (Whig). The balloting in the legislature ran generally as follows: Atchison, 51; Benton, 40; and Doniphan, 57. Atchison's name was finally withdrawn and that of Williams of the supreme court was first submitted and later that of Sterling Price, governor of the State, but to no avail. The legislature finally adjourned without electing a successor to Atchison and for two years Missouri had only one Senator, Mr. Geyer, the Whig successor to Benton.

Meanwhile Benton's friends had been making vigorous efforts to get the "Jackson Resolutions" repealed in the Missouri legislature, but in vain.

**3. Race for
the Govern-
norship**

Although defeated twice for the Senate and once for the House, Benton was still undaunted and decided to enter the political conflict once more in 1856, this time for the office of governor of the State. Three candidates were in the field: Trusten Polk (Democrat or anti-Benton), Robert Ewing (Whig), and Benton. Benton was warned by his friends that he was pursuing a hopeless cause, but

¹ Kennet (Whig), 6275; Benton, 5297; Polk (anti-Benton Democrat), 378.



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he refused to listen to them. Although 74 years old and suffering from a malady that proved fatal eighteen months later, he entered into the campaign with the vigor of a man in the prime of life, traveling more than 1200 miles and making more than forty speeches of considerable length. But he was doomed to another defeat, coming out third in the race.¹

He spent his remaining days in literary efforts, first completing his *Thirty Years' View* and then taking up the *Abridgment of the Debates in Congress*. He died on April 10, 1858, before he had finished this latter task.

4. Literary Efforts

Notwithstanding his faults and shortcomings, Benton has been considered from his day to this as Missouri's greatest citizen.

Missouri's Greatest Citizen

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¹ Polk, 46,933; Ewing, 40,589; Benton, 27,618.

CHAPTER XIII

SLAVERY IN MISSOURI

[*Historical Setting.* — The general economic and social conditions that prevailed throughout the country during the decade preceding the Civil War.]

Indian Slaves in Missouri

SLAVERY existed in Missouri from very early times down to 1865. During the French period there were both Indian and negro slaves, but by 1803 Indian slaves had practically disappeared, thanks to the efforts of the Spanish governors of Louisiana.

Early Negro Slavery in Missouri

Negro slavery in Missouri dates from the time of Renault, who, on his way from France in 1719 to what is now Missouri, stopped at San Domingo and purchased 500 negro slaves to work in the mines which he was going to open in the Missouri country. From these negroes were descended most of the slaves living in the French settlements at Kaskaskia, Cahokia, Ste. Genevieve, St. Louis, and St. Charles at the time of the Louisiana Purchase. Those found in the Cape Girardeau and New Madrid districts were brought in by the American immigrants. At first the Spanish government evidently sought to encourage negro slavery in Missouri, since the amount of land which it granted to settlers depended not only on the size of the family but also on the number of servants and slaves which came with them. But later an attempt was made to stop the further introduction of negro slaves, due doubtless to the fear that negro uprisings like those in Virginia, the Carolinas, and San Domingo would occur if the negroes became too numerous.

The negro slaves owned by the French settlers were

employed principally in farming, and as they had little work to do and were well treated they became greatly attached to their masters. The French settlers did not have any of that race prejudice which characterized the American slave owners, and hence the relation between the French and their slaves was closer than that which existed between the Americans and their slaves. It is true that the American pioneers treated their slaves well, but they always considered the negroes as an inferior race, and this put a bar between master and slave that did not exist in the case of the French.

The number of slaves in Missouri was never large. In 1803 there were between two and three thousand slaves, and in 1860 there were 114,931 slaves and 3572 free negroes. By noting the table of statistics below, taken from the United States census from 1810 to 1860,¹ we shall see that while there was a numerical increase in the number of slaves from decade to decade, the percentage of increase of slaves steadily decreased. But from 1810 to 1830 the slaves increased more in proportion to the entire population than did the free population. During these two decades immigration into Missouri was chiefly from the slave states. But from 1830 to 1860, when immigration from free states and from abroad became marked, slaves

Number of
Slaves in
Missouri,
1803-60

1. Decrease
in the Per-
centage of
Increase

¹The following tabulation shows by decades the percentage of slaves of the entire population of Missouri and the percentage of increase in the number of slaves:

| YEAR | TOTAL POPULATION | WHITES | FREE COLORED | SLAVES | PERCENTAGE OF SLAVES OF ENTIRE POPULATION | PERCENTAGE OF INCREASE OF SLAVES |
|------|------------------|-----------|--------------|---------|---|----------------------------------|
| 1810 | 20,845 | 17,227 | 607 | 3,011 | 14.5 | — |
| 1820 | 66,586 | 54,903 | 376 | 9,797 | 15.4 | 239.48 |
| 1830 | 140,455 | 115,364 | 569 | 25,091 | 17.8 | 145.46 |
| 1840 | 383,702 | 322,295 | 1478 | 57,891 | 15.5 | 132.11 |
| 1850 | 682,044 | 592,004 | 2618 | 87,422 | 12.8 | 50.1 |
| 1860 | 1,182,012 | 1,063,489 | 3572 | 114,931 | 9.8 | 33 |

increased less in proportion to the entire population than did the free population. It will also be seen from this fact that, whereas in 1810 there was approximately one slave for every six whites, in 1860 there was only one slave for every nine whites.¹ The increase in the number of whites and slaves in Missouri during the period from 1810 was due largely to immigration, especially in the case of the whites, and it is more than likely that since most of the white immigrants during this period came from Kentucky, Tennessee, Virginia, and North Carolina, most of the slaves that were imported into Missouri came from the slave states.

2. Increase
in the
Number of
Slaves in
Certain Parts
of the State

Although there was a continued actual increase in the number of slaves in Missouri up to the outbreak of the Civil War, there were portions of the State in which slavery was, between 1850 and 1860, numerically on the decline. In the old French counties along the Mississippi River south of the mouth of the Missouri, and in the older counties along the Missouri from its mouth to the boundaries of Callaway and Cole counties, the number of slaves decreased between 1850 and 1860, while in the counties farther up the Missouri River and along the western boundary of the State the slave population increased during that time. Two reasons may be assigned for this actual increase in the number of slaves in the counties along the upper Missouri and along the western border: first, that portion of the State was richer than the older counties and was better adapted to the cultivation of hemp, the chief crop raised by slave labor in Missouri; and second, during that decade the white population of that part of the State grew more rapidly than any other, and as many of the newcomers in this region were slaveholders, the slave population naturally increased.

Although Missouri was a slave state, its system of slavery differed in many ways from that which prevailed in

¹ In some of the Southern states the slaves equaled the whites in number.

Inasmuch as this was the case, the number of slaves held by a given master was not often large. "Very few masters had one hundred slaves and not many had fifty." While the number of slaves owned by one master varied from a single slave to four hundred, most of the masters had less than five slaves each.

Many of the single slaves were household or personal servants. This was true in both the towns and the country. Slaves were employed at times as hands on the river boats and in the lead mines, and they were also used in general work about the towns. But the majority of the slaves in Missouri were employed as field hands.

From what has been said it will readily be seen that as a slave state Missouri was "a region of small farms, small slave holdings, and relatively few slaves."

**Value of
Slaves**

It is impossible to give anything like an accurate statement as to the monetary value of slaves in Missouri. Governor Jackson said in 1861 that the slaves in Missouri at that time were valued at \$100,000,000; he arrived at that estimate by averaging all the slaves at about \$700 apiece. That may have been a fair estimate. As far as we know there was gradual increase in the value of slaves from 1810 to 1860. It was seldom that a slave brought more than \$500 before 1830, while in 1850 \$1300 was the usual price for a prime male slave and \$1000 for a prime female slave; \$1600 is the highest price on record for a man, and \$1300 for a woman. The "\$2000 slave" in Missouri seems to have been a myth.

There was naturally a decline in the value and prices of slaves after the Civil War began, but it is surprising to note how well prices kept up during the first two years of the war. As late as 1863 slaves were still bringing a fairly good sum in Missouri.

**Traffic in
Slaves**

Wherever slavery prevailed there was always more or less traffic in slaves. In Missouri there was not only the local exchanging of the surplus slaves among the owners, but there was also buying and selling by itinerant dealers

who went the rounds of the small towns, and by local dealers in the larger places. Many of the slaves that were bought up by these itinerants and local dealers were sent down South, but Missouri slave owners have strenuously denied that they ever embarked upon the business of breeding slaves for the purpose of supplying the Southern market. They have maintained that when they sold their slaves they were forced to do so because they had a greater number than they could take care of, or because of financial reverses, or of some ill trait in a slave, such as chronic viciousness or persistency in trying to escape. The very dealers to whom they sold their slaves were often despised by them. St. Louis was, of course, the chief slave market in the State, especially for the gangs that were shipped South. Many a slave was kept in good discipline by the threat of his master that he would be "sold down South" if he did not behave himself.

The existence of slavery in Missouri raised several problems, such as the civil status of slaves, their relation to their masters, the means of controlling slaves, and the methods of procedure and punishment of slaves in cases of crime and misdemeanor. These matters were made the subject of legislation from time to time.¹

As far as slavery had any legal basis in Missouri at all, it rested, first, on the Treaty of 1803, which provided that "the inhabitants of the ceded territory will be upheld and protected in the enjoyment of their liberty, property, and religion," and second, on the constitution of Missouri of 1820, which guaranteed slave property by providing that no slaves were to be emancipated "without the consent of their owners or without paying for them before such emancipation," and also by providing that "*bona fide* emigrants to this State or actual settlers

**Legal Basis
for Slavery
in Missouri**

1. Treaty of 1803 and Constitution of 1820

¹ The free negro was the occasion for more real anxiety to slave owners in Missouri than were the slaves themselves.

herein" were to be secure in such property "so long as any persons of the same description are allowed to be held as slaves by the laws of the State."

2. Slave
Codes, 1804-
60

The first law that was enacted regarding slavery in Missouri after the Louisiana Purchase was a code drawn up in 1804 by the governor and the judges of Indiana Territory under whose jurisdiction the District of Louisiana had been placed.¹ This rather elaborate code was drawn largely from the statutes of Virginia on governing slaves, and remained in effect until 1825, when it was superseded by another code which, but for a few additions made from time to time, remained unchanged down to the outbreak of the Civil War. Like the code of 1804, that of 1825 and the later additions that were made to it were largely adaptations of laws of other slaveholding states, especially Virginia and Kentucky.

It is not possible here to outline the provisions of these different codes and laws and the changes that were made in them from time to time. But an attempt will be made to discuss some of the provisions of the law touching slaves and slavery as they existed at the beginning of the Civil War.

Civil Status
of Slaves
in Missouri
1. Dis-
abilities

As regards his civil status, a slave was considered as personal property and could be legally disposed of the same as any other kind of personal property. He could hold no property in his own right, neither could he buy and sell without the permission of his master. There were particular laws against a slave selling liquor. If he committed any depredations, his owner was responsible the same as for injury done by his other live stock. Except under certain circumstances a slave could not be a

¹ The French and Spanish authorities of Louisiana had issued extensive regulations concerning slaves, but inasmuch as slaves were not numerous in Missouri during their rule, and furthermore, since these regulations were wholly superseded by American legislation after the acquisition of Louisiana in 1803, no attention will be given to them here.

witness at court against a white person,¹ and marriages between slaves were not recognized by law.²

But, notwithstanding all these civil disabilities, a slave was not a mere thing. The constitution of 1820 protected him from being at the absolute mercy of his master by providing that the legislature should pass laws which would "oblige the owners of slaves to treat them with humanity and to abstain from all injuries to them extending to life or limb." It also provided that a slave was to be given a jury trial, and in case of conviction of a capital offense he was to receive the same punishment as a white man for a like offense and "no other," and he was to be assigned counsel for defense. It further provided that "any person who shall maliciously deprive of life or dismember any slave shall suffer such punishment as would be inflicted for a like offense if it were committed on a free white person." The slave was also protected from cruelty in forcing evidence from him, and in indictments for misdemeanors he was at first subject to the same procedure as that which was followed in the case of whites, although that practice was somewhat modified in later times.³

2. A Slave
Not a Mere
Thing

Laws were passed at different times which enabled one held in slavery to sue for his freedom as a poor person, if he had any ground for claiming his freedom.

Slaves were, of course, amenable to all the laws concerning crimes and misdemeanors, but there were three crimes that were considered especially grave on the part of slaves, namely, conspiracy to rebellion, insurrection or murder, criminal assault upon women, and resistance to their owners or overseers. The death penalty was inflicted for the first of these offenses, mutilation for the

3. Penalties
for Crimes
and Mis-
demeanors

¹ This applied to free negroes and mulattoes as well as to slaves.

² A statute passed in 1865 requiring a legal marriage of all slaves is evidence on this point.

³ The justice of the peace court was the court to which the slave was taken for most of the offenses he committed.

second,¹ and 39 stripes for the third. The lash was used for many other offenses, and in some instances the maximum number of stripes was set forth in the law, while in others the matter was left to the discretion of the court. A slave was never fined or imprisoned in lieu of the lash for an offense, except at the request of his master. The lash might be used against whites as well as blacks in some cases, and all whippings were public and upon the bare back "well and truly laid on."² Seditious speeches and riotous meetings were punishable with stripes.

**Relation
between
Masters
and Slaves**

There were occasional instances of mob violence against slaves and free negroes for crimes which they had committed, but of the two cases that caused the greatest excitement in the State, one concerned a free negro and the other a slave who had escaped to Canada and had been there a long time. On the whole, the relations between master and slave in Missouri, if we are to believe the testimony of the masters, were fairly close, considering the ever-present attitude of superiority that was assumed by the masters toward their slaves. This close relation was no doubt made possible by the small number of slaves held by most of the owners and by the absence of overseers. In many cases owners and slaves had come to Missouri as fellow immigrants, and this common experience created a certain bond of sympathy between them. Moreover, in the rural communities the slaves often worshiped at the same churches with their masters, and were attended by the same pastor and physician. Physical punishment at the hands of the master for misconduct or indolence was no doubt often excessive,

¹ The same penalty was assessed upon whites for the same offense.

² The slave whip used in Lafayette County is still in existence. It is composed of a wooden handle attached to a flat piece of rubber strap about eighteen inches long, an inch and a half wide, and a quarter of an inch thick. It has the appearance of having been cut from rubber belting, being reinforced with fiber as is rubber hose. This whip would cause a very painful blow without leaving a scar.

but it was to the interest of the owner not to make it too severe, as any permanent marks or scars caused by such punishment were bound to lessen the market value of a slave.

There were several laws included in the slave code that were directed against the loss of slaves through escape or theft. There was always more or less danger of slaves escaping either on their own volition or through the assistance of persons who were hostile to slavery, the danger increasing as the abolition movement grew in momentum. The geographical situation of Missouri facilitated the escape of slaves. Surrounded on three sides by free territory, and with two great rivers offering easy means of going and coming, the State found itself at times hard pressed to prevent slaves from escaping with constant regularity. This was particularly true in the fifties, when the "Underground Railroad" was being successfully operated.

**Recovery
of Fugitive
Slaves**

Very early a form of procedure for the recovery of fugitive slaves was prescribed, and in time laws with severe penalties attached were passed against stealing slaves or decoying them out of the State. The laws against owners of boats plying on the rivers were particularly stringent. There were not only provisions against taking slaves out of the State, but matters came to such a pass that boatmen were prohibited from taking them from one point in the State to another, and the courts were very rigid in interpreting and enforcing these laws. It was not necessary to prove that the captain knew whether the negro he was carrying in his vessel was a slave or not, and later it was held that, even if the captain did not know he had a negro on board, that fact would not be a bar against legal proceedings on the part of the master for the recovery of his loss.

**1. Laws
against
Owners of
Boats**

In order to lessen the chances of escape, laws were passed either prohibiting assemblies of negroes or permitting them only under certain regulations. Slaves were pun-

**2. Laws
against
Assemblies
of Negroes**

ished with stripes for entering other plantations than those of their masters, and masters who permitted assemblages of slaves on their plantations were fined. Store and tavern keepers were fined for allowing slaves or free negroes to gather on their premises. This was designed not only as a defense against idleness and intemperance, but also against the danger of plots on the part of slaves to escape in groups. Finally, no religious assembly of negroes or mulattoes was allowed — if the preacher was a negro — unless some official was present to prevent seditious speeches and disorderly conduct.

3. Patrols

The patrol was an effective means for repressing any concerted plans on the part of the negroes to escape or rebel. The law that authorized the patrol provided that a county court, if it thought best, might appoint for each township a company of patrollers, or "patter rollers," as they were called, for one year, each company consisting of a captain and not more than four other persons. It was their duty to patrol at least twelve hours each month and as many more as the county court might direct, and to visit negro quarters and other places suspected of unlawful assemblies. If slaves were found at unlawful assemblies, the patrol might give them not more than ten lashes, unless the owner permitted it, but the justice of the peace might give them as many as thirty-nine.

Abolitionists

1. Law against Teaching Negroes

The law passed in 1847 providing that "no person shall instruct any negroes or mulattoes in reading or writing in this State under penalty of \$500, or not more than six months' imprisonment, or both," was probably inspired by the desire to neutralize the efforts of the Abolitionists. There was a fear that if the slaves learned to read they would be influenced by abolition literature that was being very freely distributed, and would attempt to rise in rebellion or to abscond. In spite of this law, however, many masters taught their slaves how to read and write, though the majority of the slaves never acquired those accomplishments.

The feeling of the Missourians toward the Abolitionists is seen very clearly in the law that was passed in 1837 against them. This law subjected to fine or imprisonment any person who should "publicly circulate or utter by writing, speaking, or printing any facts, arguments, reasoning, or opinion tending to excite any slave or slaves or other persons of color to rebellion, sedition, or murder." For the first offense there was prescribed a fine of \$1000 and imprisonment for not more than two years; for the second offense, imprisonment for not more than twenty years; and for the third offense, imprisonment for life. There are, however, no records of prosecutions under this law, but public sentiment against Abolitionists forced several persons to flee from the State because they had been free in expressing their anti-slavery views.

2. Law
against
Abolitionists

The most noted instances of Abolitionists fleeing from the wrath of the people of the State occurred, however, before the above-mentioned law was passed. Probably the Lovejoy incident is the one most widely known. Elijah P. Lovejoy came to Missouri from Maine in 1827. In a very short time he began writing for the newspapers of St. Louis, and by 1833 he was editing a religious weekly in that city called the *St. Louis Observer*. In 1834 he began to write vigorous articles against slavery which aroused considerable attention. He was urged by various citizens to desist and was warned that his course would bring him into deep trouble.

3. Lovejoy



ELIJAH P. LOVEJOY
From Nicolay and Hay's
Lincoln.

He declined, however, to change his course. He was about as pronounced in his anti-Catholic views as he was in his anti-slavery opinions. Matters were brought to a crisis by his severe criticisms of the mob that lynched a mulatto named Frank McIntosh, who had

stabbed an officer, and of Judge Lawless, who had upheld the mob. So great was the opposition aroused against Lovejoy because of these criticisms, that the man who had been furnishing him the capital with which to run his paper decided it would be best to move the business to Alton, Illinois. But before that could be done, a mob broke into the *Observer* office and thoroughly sacked it, dumping the press and type out into the street. No personal violence was done to Lovejoy, and he was allowed to go on to Alton. There he resumed his crusade against slavery, and although he was in a free state he found himself bitterly opposed because of his policies. One press after another was destroyed, and it was while he was defending a third one that he was shot and killed.

**4. Increased
Bitterness
toward
Abolitionists**

As the abolition movement progressed, Missourians became more and more intolerant of agitation on the subject and sought more and more to suppress it altogether. This is seen not only in the law of 1837, which has already been outlined, but also in several other acts of the legislature. In 1839 a resolution condemning the efforts of the North to interfere with the domestic policy of each state was passed by the legislature, and in 1841 a vote of approval was extended by that body to President Van Buren for the position he had taken in the abolition movement. In 1845 the constitutional convention, which had been convened for the purpose of drafting a new constitution for the State, flatly rejected the only petition presented to it on the subject of abolition.

**Early Eman-
cipation
Movement
in Missouri**

There had been from early times a certain element in the State that opposed slavery and favored emancipation, but it was not always active. Very few people, if any, favored immediate emancipation in 1820, though there were many who stood for a restriction upon the further importation of slaves either at once or later. The constitution of 1820, however, put no restriction upon the importation of slaves, and permitted emancipation of

slaves only with the consent of the owners or upon payment for them.

Much has been made of the story that a movement was under way during the twenties that gave promise of bringing about in time the gradual emancipation of all the slaves in Missouri. In 1828 there occurred a secret meeting of a number of prominent men representing different parts of the State and consisting of about an equal number of Whigs and Democrats, among whom were Senators Benton and Barton and Honorable John Wilson. At this meeting it was agreed to use every effort to secure the passage of a law that would provide for the gradual emancipation of all the slaves in Missouri. To this end candidates in both parties were to be canvassed and pledged in its favor, and everything was to be done to make the matter thoroughly nonpartisan. Unfortunately for the success of this movement, according to the account of Mr. Wilson, who is our only source of information on the matter, just as the above-mentioned plans were taking shape, a statement was published in the newspapers that Arthur Tappan of New York, one of the leading Abolitionists of the time, had entertained at his private table some negro men; that in fact these negroes had ridden in his private carriage with his daughters. This may or may not have been true, but it was accepted as true by Missourians, and it enraged them so that those who had been planning to inaugurate a nonpartisan movement for the emancipation of slaves did not dare to start it.

1. Scheme
of 1828

Whether such a movement would have succeeded if it had ever been publicly launched is, of course, more or less problematical. The one big item in all emancipation schemes that loomed large and made Missourians pause was the free negro. As we shall see in a moment, there was more anxiety and concern about the free negro than about the slave. If the slaves were freed and allowed to remain in the State, the problem of controlling the free blacks was considered a very serious one, and as the

2. Missouri
State Coloni-
zation
Society, 1839

abolitionist movement grew, the mass of slave owners in Missouri drew back from the idea of emancipation, especially if the free blacks were to remain. Emancipation in large numbers commended itself to Missourians only as it included the removal of the freed slaves from the State, but the colonization movement was never developed to any great extent. The Missouri State Colonization Society was not organized until 1839, and it never became very active in the State. It is to be noted, however, that those who were interested in it were slaveholders and not Abolitionists.

**3. Manu-
mission of
Slaves by
Individual
Masters**

Although the emancipation movement failed to develop in Missouri, it was always possible for individual owners to free their slaves whenever they saw fit. But since every slave on being freed added to the seriousness of the problem of the free negroes, "the power of the slave owner to manumit his slave was considered a privilege rather than a right," and "the freeing of slaves was tolerated but not welcomed." The number of slaves that were given their freedom was not large except in St. Louis. During the decade preceding the outbreak of the Civil War, the Germans began to settle in large numbers in that city, and they soon began to exert considerable influence. Although some of the Germans in St. Louis held slaves, most of them were decidedly opposed to slavery and did their part in the abolition agitation.

**Free
Negroes**

As has been suggested, the free negroes constituted a problem that caused the Missourians more concern than the slaves. It was not, however, until 1820 that there was any sign of uneasiness about the free negro. But it is evident that when this uneasiness did appear, it was genuine and not assumed. The hostile attitude of the Missourians toward the free negro is seen in that section of the constitution of 1820 which provided that it should be the duty of the legislature to pass such laws as would prevent free negroes and mulattoes from coming into and settling in the State, and which, it will be recalled, occa-

**1. Constitu-
tional
Provision
concerning
Free Negroes**

sioned the delay of Missouri's admission into the Union for more than a year.

This hostility to the free negroes in 1820 was not due to their large number, for there were at that time only 347 out of a total population of 66,557.¹ It was due rather to a fear that they would rapidly increase in number and would therefore tend to weaken the stability of the institution of slavery. There was not only the prospect that the mere presence of free negroes would serve to make the slaves discontented, but there was the probability that they might be used by designing persons to stir up rebellion and insubordination on the part of the slaves. For these reasons laws which aimed to put the free negroes under ready control were passed from time to time.

2. Fear of their Rapid Increase

It was not, however, until 1835 that the Free Negro Code was fully elaborated. The chief feature of this code was the license that was required of the free negro or mulatto. No free negro or mulatto, other than a citizen of some State, was permitted to reside in Missouri unless he obtained a license from some county court. Severe penalties were assessed for failure to comply with this law. Likewise persons employing or harboring free negroes or mulattoes, who were not entitled to remain in the State, were heavily fined. Free negroes and mulattoes between the ages of seven and twenty were hired out by the county courts as apprentices until they were twenty-one.

3. Free Negro Code, 1835

In 1843 a drastic law was passed which was intended to restrict the immigration of free negroes into Missouri. Excepting free negroes who were natives of the State or who had been residents of the State since 1840, and excepting those who were citizens of another state, no free negroes were permitted to come into or remain in the State, and strict regulations were provided to insure the enforcement

4. Later Laws against Free Negroes

¹ The free negro population never became large in Missouri, as will be seen by consulting the table in footnote 1 of this chapter.

of this law. It was also provided that all slaves entitled to freedom at some future date were not allowed to come into the State.

In 1847 free negroes and mulattoes were prohibited from coming into Missouri under any conditions whatsoever. This law was in direct violation of the solemn public act of the legislature that was imposed in 1820 by Congress as a prerequisite for the admission of the State into the Union. But that this act ever had any legal binding effect on the legislature of Missouri, no one ever believed. It is somewhat to the credit of Missouri, however, that a law prohibiting the immigration of free negroes was not passed much earlier.¹

In 1859 the legislature attempted to put the cap sheaf upon the free negro legislation by passing a bill providing among other things that the only trial which a free negro who had migrated to and settled in the State since 1847 might have was a summary examination before some judicial officer, and the presumption was that every free negro or mulatto arrested for any crime or misdemeanor should be considered as having come into the State since 1847, unless he could prove to the officer before whom he was arraigned that he had come in prior to that date. This bill was vetoed by Governor Stewart, and on being reënacted by the legislature at its next session, was vetoed by him a second time. Thus Missouri was saved from a very disgraceful act.

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¹ This law of 1847 also forbade anyone to teach negroes or mulattoes to read and write.

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CHAPTER XIV

KANSAS BORDER TROUBLES, 1855-60

[*Historical Setting.* — The Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854.]

FROM 1855 to 1860 western Missouri was involved in an almost continuous warfare with Kansas. This trouble grew out of the question of slavery in the territories of Kansas and Nebraska that had been created by Congress in 1854. In order that we may understand how this trouble arose, a few words of explanation setting forth the historical situation must be given.

**Region
West of the
Mississippi
in 1850**

First of all, a glance at the map of the United States west of the Mississippi River in 1850 needs to be taken. By that time six states had been created in this region and added to the Union. Four of these (Louisiana, Arkansas, Missouri and Texas) were slave states and two (California and Iowa) were free. Four territories had been organized, two of which (Oregon and Minnesota) were free, and two (New Mexico and Utah) were open to slavery. Between the states of Arkansas, Missouri, and Iowa and the Territory of Minnesota on the one hand, and the Rockies on the other, was a vast stretch of country which had been given over to the Indians and was as yet unorganized. Only a small portion of it was open to slavery, the Missouri Compromise of 1820 having provided for the exclusion of slavery in this section above 36° 30'. Inasmuch as there was only the most remote probability that slavery would be established in either New Mexico or Utah, it can be seen that the only real chance that slavery had for expansion in the West after 1850 was in that portion of the unorganized territory that lay south

of 36° 30', which is now known as Oklahoma. That this should be the cause for considerable anxiety on the part of the South is easily understood.

Meanwhile, the people of Missouri were beginning in a number of ways to urge Congress to open up for settlement the region directly west of the State. The first expression on the subject came from the legislature when in 1847 it memorialized Congress to extinguish the Indian titles to this western country and to provide for its territorial organization. The next expression came from mass meetings of citizens, most of which were held in the western part of the State. In June, 1852, the citizens of Parkville, Platte County, met in a public meeting and adopted a resolution asking Congress to organize immediately the Territory of Nebraska and to provide for the right of settlement therein as soon as the Indian titles should be extinguished. In November, 1853, a mass meeting of the citizens of Andrew County was held in Savannah and resolutions of a similar character were passed. In December of that year the people of St. Joseph met and adopted a set of resolutions approving the Hall bill for the organization of the Territory of Nebraska and condemning those who had prevented its passage. In January, 1854, a Nebraska convention was held at St. Joseph in response to a call for "a general convention of all the friends of Nebraska" and passed a long set of resolutions, most of which were the same as those of Andrew County. At about the same time "the friends of Nebraska" of St. Louis County assembled in St. Louis and declared in favor of a territorial government for Nebraska and denounced all those who opposed it as being hostile to the best interests of the State.¹

**Interest of
Missourians
in the Open-
ing Up of the
Nebraska
Territory**

**1. Petitions
to Congress**

¹ So important had the question become in Missouri that it had injected itself into the contest that was waged in the State in 1853-54 for Atchison's seat in the United States Senate. Benton had been defeated for reelection to that body in 1850, and he aspired to return to it by succeeding Atchison, who came up for reelection

2. Desire for
Cheap Lands

The interest of Missourians in having this territory west of them opened up for settlement was due primarily to the desire for more cheap land. Missouri was not yet by any means thickly populated, but it was filling up, especially so on the western border. And the settlers who, in their migrations across the country, had been stopped at the western border of Missouri because the territory beyond was not yet open for settlement, were showing signs of defying the Government and crossing over into Nebraska. As Senator Atchison said in 1853, "There is a large portion of our population who are ready and anxious to abandon their homes to go into this territory; you cannot restrain them much longer."

**Kansas-
Nebraska
Act, 1854**

Notwithstanding this pressure which Missourians were bringing to bear upon the Nebraska question, Congress was slow to respond. In December, 1851, Willard P. Hall of Missouri introduced a bill into Congress providing for the reorganization of the region including what is now Kansas and Nebraska, and to which he gave the name of Platte. Failing to get it considered at that session, he re-introduced the bill in December, 1852, with the name of the territory changed from Platte to Nebraska. But the bill met the same fate as before.

1. Delay of
Congress

Congress had two reasons for delaying action in the matter. In the first place, the Nebraska country had been turned over to the Indians during Jackson's administration, and it was not deemed right to force them to go away. In the second place, the Missouri Compromise had dedicated this territory to freedom, and if new states were created out of it they would be free states, and thus the inequality between the South and the North in the United States Senate, which had been brought on by the admission of California in 1850, would be considerably

in 1854. The campaign began early in 1853 and involved from the start the Nebraska question. Benton and Atchison maintained different views on certain phases of this question and belabored each other considerably over them.

**rush to
Kansas**

It was generally understood throughout the country in 1854, when the Kansas-Nebraska bill was passed, that Kansas would be settled by people from Missouri and the South, and would therefore become a slave territory and ultimately a slave state, and that Nebraska would be settled by people from the North and would become free. From the outset, therefore, Missourians made certain claims as to their rights to settle Kansas, and they became very resentful later when attempts were made to challenge those claims.

**. From
Missouri**

Missourians, especially those on the western border, had special reasons for being interested in the establishment of slavery in Kansas. Missouri was bordered on the east and north by free states, and slave owners along the eastern and northern borders of the State were in constant danger of having their slaves escape into free territory. If Kansas should become free, that would expose Missouri to the same danger on a third side. There were nearly 50,000 slaves in western Missouri in 1854, worth about \$25,000,000. Free Kansas would, therefore, jeopardize slavery in that part of the State and would add to the general weakening of the institution throughout the entire State. For these reasons the majority of Missourians were interested in having Kansas become a slave territory, and just as soon as President Pierce signed the Kansas-Nebraska bill large numbers of them rushed into Kansas and seized upon extensive tracts of the best lands.¹ Settlers were required by the preëmption laws of the time to erect cabins and to be in actual residence for a given period of time if they were to acquire a title to their claims. But many of these Missourians did nothing more on their Kansas claims than "notch a few trees and arrange a half dozen rails upon the ground and call it a cabin, or

¹ The white inhabitants of Kansas Territory at the time of its organization consisted of nearly 700 soldiers and army attachés, and perhaps as many civilians living at the missions and trading posts in the Territory.

post a scrawl claiming proprietorship and threatening to shoot intermeddlers at sight."

Many Missourians, however, became *bona fide* settlers and several little pro-slavery towns were soon established, such as Kickapoo, Atchison, Leavenworth, and Lecompton. All these towns but the last named were situated on or near the Missouri River northwest of what is now Kansas City.

The advent of Missourians into Kansas was soon followed by Northern immigrants, some of whom came because they wanted to get into a new country. But most of them came because of their interest in making Kansas a free territory and state, and many of these had been sent to Kansas by certain anti-slavery societies in New England. The most important and active, perhaps, of these societies was the New England Emigrant Aid Company, which was directed largely by Eli Thayer and Amos Lawrence, both of Massachusetts. The company offered considerable assistance to all who would go to Kansas under its auspices, in return for which it was informally understood that their influence would be against slavery in Kansas. In 1854, 750 colonists were sent out by this company, and in the following year 635 were sent out. Not all of these stayed, however. Many of them became disgusted with the hardships of pioneer life and returned to their old homes in New England. As a result of this colonizing effort several anti-slavery towns sprang up in Kansas, among which were Hampden, Wabaunsee, Ossawatimie, Manhattan, Topeka, and Lawrence, all of which were situated west or southwest of what is now Kansas City.

"During the early summer of 1854 exaggerated and false reports in regard to the character, purposes, and means of the proposed Emigrant Aid Company were circulated through Missouri and the entire South. It was said that an organization chartered by the legislature of Massachusetts and possessing immense capital was

2. From the East

Attitude of Missourians toward Immigration to Kansas from the East

preparing to abolitionize Kansas by means of military colonies, recruited from the slums of Eastern cities and planted in Kansas with all the munitions of war, to be used not only when necessary for their own defense but for keeping out immigrants from the South."

Many of the newspapers of Missouri were full of these reports and were advising the people of the State to join one another in resisting by force this proposed colonization of Kansas by Easterners. The *Democratic Platform of Liberty, Missouri*, said: "Let every man that owns a negro go to Kansas and settle and our Northern brethren will be compelled to hunt further north for a location."

. As Shown
y News-
apers

In another issue this same paper said: "We are in favor of making Kansas a slave state if it should require half of the citizens of Missouri, musket in hand, to emigrate there, and even sacrifice their lives in accomplishing so desirable an end." In a still later issue it said: "Shall we allow such cutthroats and murderers as the people of Massachusetts are to settle in the territory adjoining our own State? NO! If popular opinion will not keep them back, we should see what virtue there is in favor of arms."

The *Argus* of Platte City said: "The Abolitionists will probably not be interrupted if they settle north of the fortieth parallel of north latitude, but south of that line and in Kansas Territory they need not set foot. It is decreed by the people who live adjacent that their institutions are to be established, and candor compels us to advise accordingly."

The *Industrial Luminary* of Parkville said: "We hope fanatico-political combinations will be kept out of the new country, especially such as we read of being formed in some of the Eastern states. American freemen are wanted — not mercenary tools of furious demagogues from either the South or North."

The *Squatter Sovereign*, which was published at Atchison, Kansas, advised that the emigrants who were being armed

and sent out by the Aid Societies should be met with weapons of their own choice and kept out of Kansas.

Mass meetings were held at several different points in western Missouri during 1854 and resolutions were adopted expressing hostile views upon the contemplated colonizing schemes of the Eastern companies. At Westport it was resolved "that we will carry with us into the new territory of Kansas every species of property, including slaves, and that we will hold and enjoy the same. That we desire to do so peacefully and deprecate any necessity for resorting to violence in support of our just and lawful rights. Yet apprehensive of interference with our private and domestic concerns by certain organized bands who are to be precipitated upon us, we notify all such that our purpose is firm to enjoy our rights and to meet with the last argument all who shall in any way infringe upon them." At Independence it was declared that "we, the South, should be permitted peaceably to possess Kansas, while the North, on the same privilege, be permitted to possess Nebraska Territory."

2. As Shown
by Mass
Meetings

These newspaper expressions and resolutions fairly represented the attitude of the majority of the people of Missouri at the time. Most of them felt that Kansas had been intended for the South and slavery, and that Nebraska had been intended for the North and freedom, and they were united on the proposition that "any attempt on the part of the North to make Kansas a non-slaveholding territory is a breach of faith which ought to be resisted by the South and especially by Missouri."

That the Missourians intended from the outset to act in accordance with their views on the settlement of Kansas is seen in the organizations which they effected during 1854. In June of that year the Missourians who had rushed into the Territory and had squatted upon claims near Salt Creek Valley, a trading post three miles west of Fort Leavenworth, organized a Squatters' Claim Association whose purpose was to "secure safety and

Missouri
Defensive
Associations

fairness in the location and preservation of claims." It is obvious what means would be employed by such an association to secure what it considered as its rights.

In July there was established the Platte County Self Defensive Association, the most remarkable and formidable of all the organizations that were created for the purpose of controlling the settlement of Kansas. This association declared that it would "whenever called upon by any of the citizens of Kansas Territory hold itself in readiness to assist in removing any and all emigrants who go there under the auspices of the Northern Emigrant Aid Societies," and it recommended to the other counties, particularly those bordering on Kansas Territory, to adopt regulations similar to those it had drawn up, and to indicate their readiness to cooperate in resisting Northern immigration into Kansas. This association, however, overshot the mark in the vigor with which it attempted to regulate local affairs at Weston, where it had been organized, and it was compelled to dissolve itself very shortly.

Numerous secret lodges were thereupon organized in the northern and central counties for the purpose of extending slavery not only into Kansas but also into other territories. They went under various names, such as "Social Bands," "Friends of Society," "Sons of the South," and "Blue Lodges." They were generally known by the last name. Under their control there were from five to ten thousand persons, "mostly desperate characters," who were ready to invade Kansas to protect pro-slavery men and to drive out, if need be, those who opposed slavery.

Missourians
the
insane
actions
Territorial
delegate

It was inevitable that trouble should ensue between Missourians and the emigrants from the free states. The first occasion for a demonstration on the part of the Blue Lodges of Missouri was the election of a territorial delegate from Kansas to Congress. This occurred on November 29, 1854. On that day 1729 Missourians in-

vaded the different election districts of Kansas and voted for Whitfield, the pro-slavery candidate, who was of course elected. It seems very evident that Whitfield would have been elected without the vote of the Missourians, for at that time the pro-slavery settlers in Kansas outnumbered the anti-slavery settlers considerably.¹ Notwithstanding the wail of indignation that went up all over the North regarding this election, Whitfield was allowed to take his seat as a delegate to Congress.

But more important than this election was the one held for the territorial legislature, which was set for March 13, 1855. A census of Kansas had been taken in February of that year, and it had been found that there were 8600 people in the territory, of whom 2905 were eligible to vote. When the polls were closed on election day, 6307 votes had been cast. On that day between four and five thousand Missourians marched, fully armed, across the border and compelled the election judges to receive their ballots. Some of the Missourians pretended to be residents of the Territory, but in the case of most of them there was no attempt to disguise the fact that they were Missourians. "They came in companies with music and banners"; they came "with guns upon their shoulders, revolvers stuffing their belts, bowie knives protruding from their boot-tops, and generous rations of whiskey in their wagons." They justified what they did on the ground that the Emigrant Aid Company had sent voters by the hundreds all the way from New England to vote, and that, therefore, they had as much right to do the same for themselves.

It goes without saying that these election invasions of Kansas were popular in western Missouri. A few persons there protested against them, but they generally found themselves proscribed for their frankness, and sometimes they were very harshly treated. The editors of the *Industrial Luminary*, a newspaper published at Parkville, raised

¹ Whitfield received 2258 votes out of the 2833 that were cast.

2. Territorial
Legislature

the question in a mild sort of way as to whether it was expedient to force slavery on Kansas, and their press was at once destroyed by a mob, and they were forced to leave the place.

David
Atchison,
leader of
the Mis-
sourians

The leader of these election invasions of Missourians into Kansas was none other than David Atchison. At the time of the first invasion he was still United States Senator from Missouri. From the moment it became known that



DAVID B. ATCHISON

United States Senator from Missouri.
From Nicolay and Hay's *Lincoln*.

men from New England were coming to Kansas to make it free, he began to advocate counter action on the part of the people of Missouri. At the time the Platte County Association was organized he was reported as saying :

“The people of Kansas in their first election will decide the question as to whether or not the slaveholder is to be excluded, and the matter depends upon a majority of the votes cast at the polls. Now if a set of fanatics and demagogues 1000 miles off can advance their money and

exert every nerve to abolitionize the Territory and exclude the slaveholder when they have not the least personal interest in the matter, what is your duty? When you reside within one day's journey of the Territory, and when your peace, your quiet, and your property depend on your action, you can without any exertion send 500 of your young men who will vote in favor of your institutions. Should each county in the State of Missouri only do its duty, the question will be decided peaceably at the ballot box. If we are defeated, then Missouri and the

other Southern states will have shown themselves recreant to their interests and will have deserved their fate."

Besides Senator Atchison several other notable Missourians, including ex-Attorney General Stringfellow, Colonel Sam Young, Claiborne Jackson, James M. Burns, and others, figured prominently in the raids across the border in the Kansas Territory days; but "Atchison was the master spirit of these demonstrations."

The territorial governor of Kansas was aware of what had happened at the election of the territorial legislature and called for protests. Only six districts, however, responded. And as the governor took the ground that he could interfere only where protests were properly made, he declined to declare the election invalid except in those six districts from which protests came. New elections were ordered in these six districts and anti-slavery candidates were elected in each of them, owing to the fact that the pro-slavery voters ignored the election and stayed away from the polls. The candidates elected at this special election were never allowed, however, to take their seats. The territorial legislature was completely controlled by pro-slavery men, and it promptly declared the candidates elected in these six districts at the first election as being entitled to seats in the legislature.

As might be expected, the legislature that was elected by the Missourians legalized slavery in Kansas and enacted some very drastic laws protecting the institution in that Territory.

Of course the anti-slavery element in Kansas felt outraged at this travesty on popular government and proceeded to set up a free state government. A constitution, known as the Topeka constitution, was drafted and was adopted in December, 1855, by a vote which was confined to the anti-slavery men altogether, the pro-slavery men taking no part whatsoever in the voting. A short time afterward, the anti-slavery people petitioned Congress for the admission of Kansas into the Union as a free state

4. New Elections in Six Districts

Contest between the Territorial and Free State Governments in Kansas



under the Topeka constitution. Congress refused, however, to grant the petition.

There were thus two governments in Kansas: one had been elected by the Missourians, but was, strangely enough, "legal"; the other had been set up by the majority of the actual settlers, but had no legal standing, inasmuch as it had never been authorized.

**Invasions of
Kansas by
"Border
Ruffians"**

Naturally these two governments were drawn into conflict with each other, and soon the conflict developed into civil war. The pro-slavery party, which was supporting the territorial legislature, called upon the Missourians for assistance, and on different occasions they answered the call. They came first in December, 1855, more than a thousand strong, under General Atchison, and threatened to attack Lawrence, which was considered by them as the "headquarters of sedition." They felt that if they could only break up this place it would put an end to the troubles that were afflicting Kansas, and they would thus secure the rights of the pro-slavery party in that Territory. They soon found a pretext and proceeded to make their descent upon Lawrence. The threatened attack, however, did not take place, owing to the negotiations that the governor of Kansas carried on with General Atchison.

**1. Sacking of
Lawrence**

The Missourians, however, returned the following May and thoroughly sacked the town. The printing offices and the hotel were the special objects of their vengeance. The newspapers that had been published at Lawrence had been obnoxious to the pro-slavery party on account of the views they had expressed, and the hotel had been the headquarters of the "free state" supporters. The presses were, therefore, broken up, and the files, type, and other stock were thrown out into the streets. The hotel was burned to the ground after an unsuccessful attempt had first been made to blow it to pieces. Moreover, many private dwellings also were burned, and a great deal of looting was committed. Three men

lost their lives, two being murdered and one killed by accident.

Although matters had become very disgraceful by this time, they were shortly to become worse because of the atrocities that were committed by John Brown and his followers at Dutch Henry's Crossing on Pottawotamie Creek in May, 1856. Brown had come to Kansas from Ohio early in that year and had settled at Ossawotamie, where five of his sons had already settled. He began at once to take an active part against the pro-slavery party in Kansas. In fact, it has been said that he had come, not to make a home for himself, but to strike a physical blow at slavery, which he hated with an undying hatred. He was in Lawrence when the Missourians made their first attack upon it in December, 1855, and on hearing of the agreement between the governor of Kansas and General Atchison, he publicly denounced it in bitter language. Nothing was done by Brown, however, until after the attack upon Lawrence by the Missourians on May 21. The news of this attack reached Ossawotamie the same day, and immediately a force of men, among whom was Brown, set out from that place for Lawrence. While on this expedition, Brown planned in retaliation a raid upon some slaveholders near Dutch Henry's Crossing on Pottawotamie Creek, not very far from Ossawotamie. Gathering a group of not more than seven or eight men, Brown disclosed to them his design, namely, "to sweep off all pro-slavery men up and down Pottawotamie." On securing their consent to this plan, he proceeded to carry it out. Going from cabin to cabin in the dead of the night, he and his band dragged out five unarmed men and murdered them in cold blood.

Although this diabolical deed was condemned by both pro-slavery and anti-slavery people, it was responsible for "much of the havoc and anarchy in which the Kansas of 1856 weltered." "To the intensity of hate was added the wild delirium of fear," and when it was suspected that

2. Dutch
Henry's
Crossing

Brown was responsible for the Pottawotamie murders, the Missourians tried to run him down and capture him. This, however, they never succeeded in doing.¹ But they inaugurated retaliatory deeds of violence and executed them with inflamed passions. Manifestoes were drawn up by such Missourians as Atchison, Stringfellow, Doniphan, and others declaring that war was being waged by Abolitionists and urging resistance. A large body of Missourians gathered on the Kansas border expecting to be called in by the Kansas governor, who was supposed to be in sympathy with their cause, to assist in putting down the "free state" supporters. But the summons never came.

3. Destruction of Ossawotamie

The Missourians were not, however, to be balked in their revenge. Among other things done by them was the destruction of Ossawotamie, "Old Brown's Headquarters," on August 30, 1856. They came, about two hundred and fifty strong, drove off the small force that opposed them, and then fired the town, leaving not more than three or four cabins standing.

4. Intervention of United States Troops

Naturally these deeds of violence called forth action on the part of the "free state" people in Kansas, and plans were made for an attack on LeCompton, the political center of the pro-slavery people. The attack failed. In return about 3000 Missourians gathered on the border and were meditating the destruction of every "free state" settlement in the Territory. From this threatened disaster the Territory was saved by the intervention of United States troops in the latter part of 1856. Under the protection of these troops an election for a territorial legislature was held in October, 1857, and was carried by the anti-slavery people of the Territory.

¹ Among the Missourians who attempted to capture Brown was Captain Pate, who had recruited a company of 75 or 80 men mostly from Westport, Missouri. Pate, however, not only failed to capture Brown, but he and many of his men were forced to surrender to the very man they had intended to take.

The election of a free territorial legislature gave the anti-slavery party a legal standing such as it had not yet had in the Territory, and although the pro-slavery party in Kansas kept up the contest and tried to get Congress to admit Kansas under a pro-slavery constitution, it was compelled ultimately to succumb to the anti-slavery party. Kansas was admitted into the Union as a free state in January, 1861.

With the election of a free territorial legislature in 1857, the invasions of the Missourians into Kansas came to an end, and our immediate interest in the history of the struggle between the pro-slavery and anti-slavery parties in Kansas from 1857 to 1860, ceases. However, during that period of three years the border struggle between the Kansans and the Missourians continued, but with the tables reversed. It now came the turn for the Kansas "Jayhawkers" to invade the Missouri border counties and harass and annoy the people living there. The worst depredations were committed in Cass, Bates, Vernon, and Barton counties, along the western border south of Kansas City. Some of the "Jayhawkers" made raids into Missouri for the purpose of striking at slavery, but most of them were bent purely upon mischief. Marauding, robbery, horse-stealing, and murder were frequently committed, and in many of the sections of the western border the people were forced to abandon their homes and go into the interior of the counties for safety.

Local volunteer companies were organized in the summer of 1858 in these southwestern counties, especially in Bates and Cass, for the purpose of warding off these "Jayhawking" attacks. By fall the situation had become so serious that Governor Stewart of Missouri felt compelled to place an armed force along the border for the protection of the people against the Kansas bandits. Governor Denver of Kansas coöperated with Governor Stewart by ordering a company of Rangers to pa

Invasions of Missouri by "Jayhawkers"

1. Object of "Jayhawkers"

2. Coöperation of Governors of Missouri and Kansas



border.¹ For a time these measures taken by the two governors caused matters to quiet down considerably, but the fires were fanned into flames again by the John Brown raid into Missouri in December, 1858.

J. John
Brown's
Raid into
Missouri,
1858

This raid was occasioned by a negro from Missouri appearing in Brown's camp near Ossawotamie on December 19, 1858, and begging that he and his family be rescued from slavery before they were sold to be carried down South. The next night Brown with a number of men from his company made a foray into Missouri and secured in all eleven slaves and carried them into Kansas. One slave owner who resisted the raiders was killed. After having been kept in concealment for more than a month, these liberated slaves eluded their pursuers and were sent on to Canada.

Governor Stewart reported the situation in detail to the legislature when it convened in January, 1859, and submitted the memorials that had come to him from the citizens of Bates and Vernon counties asking for speedy relief from "the thieves, robbers, and midnight assassins" that were preying upon the western border. The legislature responded promptly by appropriating \$30,000 and putting it at the disposal of the governor to enable him "to suppress and bring to justice the bandits on the western border of the State and to raise a sufficient force to protect the western border." Stewart put a price of \$3000 on the head of Brown, but that proved useless. Brown eluded everybody and before long he disappeared from Kansas.

Mont-
gomery's
Raid, 1860

Things quieted down again as the summer of 1859 came on, and remained peaceful until the election of Lincoln. Then occurred the most alarming disorders that disturbed the border between 1857 and 1860. Several raids into Missouri were made by the "Jayhawkers" dur-

¹ Governor Stewart appealed to President Buchanan for United States troops to guard the border, but was told that no men were available for that service.

ing November and December, 1860. Among these raids the most noted was the one led by James Montgomery into Vernon County. Montgomery established himself at Fort Scott, just across the Missouri line, and threatened to wipe slavery out of southern Missouri. In addition to the raids which he made into Missouri, he fell upon a number of Missourians who were at the time in Kansas. Among the Missourians who were killed in Kansas were Russell Hines, who was caught while attempting to recover a fugitive slave, and Samuel Scott, who had formerly been sheriff of Bates County but who had moved to Kansas. The terror became so great along the border that the people again abandoned their homes and fled into the interior. In many districts the abandoned homes were burned by the invaders.

So serious did the situation become that Governor Stewart decided to send special military forces to the border again. Troops were therefore drawn from Jefferson City and St. Louis and sent down under Generals Frost and Parsons. Upon the arrival of these troops order was soon restored. But peace was not permanently established until after the Civil War. As we shall see in a subsequent chapter, the strife that was begun along the border in 1855 continued through the Civil War period, and many of the worst features of the war in Missouri arose from the bitterness that was engendered on the western border before 1861.

5. Restora-
tion of Order

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CHAPTER XV

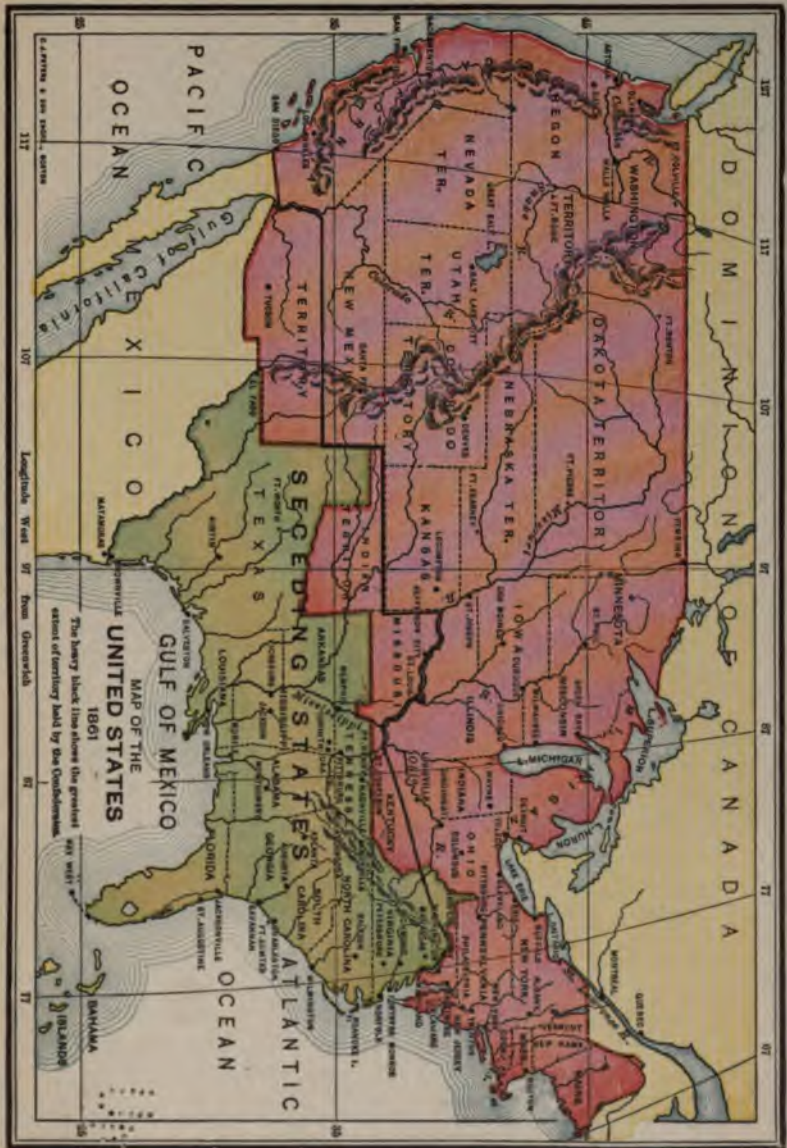
THE CIVIL WAR — MISSOURI DECIDES TEMPORARILY AGAINST SECESSION

[*Historical Setting.* — The Secession of the First Seven Southern States.]

**Border
States and
Secession**

THE election of Lincoln to the Presidency in November, 1860, precipitated almost immediately the secession of South Carolina from the Union. Before Lincoln was inaugurated six other states followed South Carolina out of the Union, and within three months after his inauguration four other states likewise seceded. With great anxiety the North watched the remaining slave states (Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri) to see what they would do. It was feared that they too would join their seceding sisters and thus seal the permanent disruption of the Union. Fortunately for the cause of freedom, however, they did not secede, and undoubtedly the final success of the North is due in part to the loyal attitude taken by these border slave states.

But only one of these — Delaware — unreservedly joined the North. In Maryland and Kentucky an effort was made to inaugurate and maintain a policy of neutrality, but this did not succeed, and both of these states were soon ranged on the side of the North. In Missouri there was a long-drawn-out struggle between the conflicting forces, and for some time the matter was in doubt. Ultimately, however, the Union forces succeeded in getting the situation in hand in the State and thus kept her from seceding. How they succeeded in doing this is the theme of the present chapter and of the three or four immediately following.



11

In order to get our bearings for the study of this subject, we must go back to the election of 1860. At that time the State and the national elections were not held in Missouri on the same day, as they now are, but took place in different months, the State election in August and the national election in November. At no previous time had the political situation been so complicated in Missouri as it was in 1860. This was due primarily to the turn that had been given to national political affairs prior to the State election in August. And in order to see what that turn was, it is necessary to review for a moment the conventions that were held by the great national parties during the summer of 1860.

Elections in Missouri in 1860

The great issue that was before the country in 1860 was that of slavery in the territories. This issue divided the Democratic party into two sections. One section, composed mainly of Northern Democrats, declared that the people in the territories should decide for themselves the question of slavery. They nominated Douglas of Illinois, the leading advocate of squatter or popular sovereignty, as their candidate for President. The other section, consisting chiefly of Southern Democrats, insisted that Congress should protect slavery in all of the territories. Their candidate was Breckenridge of Kentucky. The Republican party, made up almost entirely of Northerners, declared that neither Congress nor a territorial legislature had any right to give slavery legal existence in any territory of the United States. They nominated Lincoln of Illinois. The Conservative Union party was composed of Whigs and Conservatives, and avoiding the word "slavery" in their platform, declared that they recognized no political principle other than the Constitution of the country, the union of states, and the enforcement of laws. They nominated Bell of Tennessee.

1. National Conventions

The split in the national Democratic party gave the managers of that party in Missouri the very difficult problem of keeping the two factions united in State

2. Results in Missouri

politics. Claiborne F. Jackson, the Democratic nominee for governor, tried to keep himself neutral between the two factions. But, owing to the pressure that was brought to bear on him, he was forced to come out in favor of Douglas, whereupon the Southern Democrats nominated Hancock Jackson for governor. The
Governor Republicans nominated James B. Gardenhire, and the Conservative Unionists or old Whigs nominated Semple Orr. The vote as cast for these candidates was as follows: Claiborne F. Jackson, 74,446; Semple Orr, 64,583; Hancock Jackson, 11,415; James B. Gardenhire, 6135. The race was between the Douglas Democrats and the Conservative Unionists, the candidate of the former party winning by a few less than 10,000 votes.

Legisla- The legislature elected at the same time contained representatives of all four of these parties. In the senate there were 33 members, of whom 15 were Breckinridge or Southern Democrats; 10 Douglas or Northern Democrats; 7 Conservative Unionists; and 1 Republican. In the house there were 132 members, among whom were 47 Breckinridge Democrats, 36 Douglas Democrats, 37 Conservative Unionists, and 12 Republicans. From this tabulation it will be seen that the Breckinridge Democrats had the lead over any other one party, but not enough to control the situation by themselves. It was, therefore, necessary for the two wings of the Democratic party to combine their forces in order to give either of them a share in the organization of the legislature. By making this combination the Breckinridge Democrats were able to elect their candidate as speaker of the house. On the other hand, the newly elected lieutenant governor, Thomas C. Reynolds, was, like Governor Jackson, a Douglas Democrat.

President In the Presidential election, as in the State elections, the race in Missouri was between the Douglas Democrats and the Conservative Unionists, but with a much closer margin. Practically every white man in the State voted

at this election. The total vote, 165,518, was distributed as follows: Douglas, 58,801; Bell, 58,372; Breckinridge, 31,317; Lincoln, 17,028.¹ Douglas carried the electoral vote of the State, but with a very narrow margin of only 429 votes. It will be noted that the two leading Presidential candidates were representatives of the more or less conservative parties and that their combined votes amounted to a little more than seventy per cent of all the votes cast for President in the State. On the other hand, the representatives of the radical parties received all together a vote that was about 10,000 less than that cast for either of the other two leading candidates. It is significant, however, that the vote for Douglas and Bell was considerably less than that which had been cast for the Douglas and the Breckinridge candidates for governor in the preceding August election, and that the votes for Breckinridge and Lincoln were about three times the number that had been cast for the Breckinridge and the Lincoln candidates for governor. Between August and November the radical parties had gained considerably in Missouri.

When the legislature met in regular session on December 31, 1860, it was confronted with the momentous problem of determining what Missouri's attitude should be toward the South. By that time South Carolina had seceded from the Union, and it was a foregone conclusion that other Southern states would follow. In fact, by February 1, 1861, six other states (Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas) had withdrawn from the Union. That the retiring and the in-

**Attitude of
the Legisla-
ture toward
Secession**

¹ "Out of every 165 men who went to the polls, 17 were quite positive that the existence of slavery should cease; 31 were equally positive that slavery should be extended or the Union dissolved; 59 favored squatter sovereignty or local option in the territories in regard to slavery; 58 thought that all this fuss about the negro was absurd, criminal, and dangerous, and ought to be stopped at once by suppression,—if necessary, by hanging the extremists on both sides and letting things go on just as they had been."



. Message
f Governor
tewart

coming governors of Missouri appreciated the seriousness of the situation is seen from their official utterances at the opening of the legislature. The retiring governor was Robert M. Stewart.¹ Although a Northern man by birth, he had been a strong advocate of squatter sovereignty and declared "that the Southern people had the right to take their slaves into all the territories and hold them there under the protection of the Constitution." In his final message to the legislature, he came out decidedly against secession and said that, whatever the other slave states did, Missouri should remain in the Union. He recognized, however, that there were obligations resting upon the North and insisted that it should give adequate guarantees to the South that all the just rights of the states should be observed. In fact, he maintained that the Union could be preserved on no other basis.

The inaugural address of the new governor, Claiborne F. Jackson,² had a different ring. Holding that the

¹ Robert M. Stewart enjoyed the distinction of being the only governor of Missouri who had up to this time been a native of a Northern state. He was born in New York in 1815. He afterward moved to Kentucky, where he studied law and was admitted to the bar. He came to Missouri in 1829 and in a few years settled in St. Joseph. From 1846 to 1857 he was a member of the State senate. In 1857 he was elected governor to fill out an unexpired term of Trusten Polk, who had been elected to the United States Senate.

² Claiborne F. Jackson was born in Kentucky in 1806, of Virginia parentage. He came to Missouri while yet in his 'teens, and succeeded so well in business that he was able at the age of thirty to devote himself almost exclusively to politics. In 1856 he was elected to the legislature and from that time to his death in 1862 he was in public life continuously. At one time he was speaker of the house and for a time he was a member of the State senate. In 1849, as chairman of the committee of the State senate on Federal relations, he reported the famous "Jackson Resolutions" which instructed the United States Senators from Missouri (especially Benton) to support only those measures that gave the people in the territories the right to determine for themselves whether slavery should exist in those territories or not. In the

Republican party, which had just elected Lincoln to the presidency, was committed to the abolition of slavery everywhere, he urged that Missouri would "best consult her own interests and the interests of the whole country by a timely declaration to stand by her sister slave-owning states, in whose wrong she participated and with whose institutions and people she sympathized." That meant that if the Union was to be destroyed Missouri should go with her sister slaveholding states of the South. Like Stewart, Jackson hoped that the North and the South might reach some sort of an agreement and thus preserve the Union, but unlike Stewart he declared that if the Union was divided, Missouri should go with the South.

There is not any doubt that Governor Jackson voiced the views and opinions of the majority of the members of the legislature. But that body felt that the ques-

mighty contest that ensued between Benton and his opponents, when Benton made his "Appeal" from the "Resolutions" to the people of Missouri, Jackson took a very prominent part and of course profited by Benton's defeat. He was described as being "tall, erect, dignified; a vigorous thinker and a fluent and forcible speaker, always interesting and often eloquent; a well-informed man, thoroughly conversant with politics of Missouri and of the Union; with positive opinions on all public questions and the courage to express and uphold them. He was courteous in his bearing toward all men, for he was kindhearted and by nature a democrat; and a truthful, honest, and honorable gentleman."

2. Inaugural
Address of
Governor
Jackson



CLAIBORNE F. JACKSON
Governor of Missouri at the outbreak of
the Civil War.

3. Provision
Made for a
State
Convention



tion of the relation of the State to the Union should be dealt with by a convention officially elected for that purpose, and it therefore promptly passed a bill providing for such a convention. The date of election was set for February 18 and the date for the meeting of the convention for February 28. From each senatorial district there were to be elected three times as many delegates as State senators to which the district was entitled. Although the convention was authorized to adopt such measures for vindicating the sovereignty of the State and for the protection of its institutions as should appear to be demanded, the bill specifically provided that "no act, ordinance, or resolution of said convention shall be deemed to be valid to change or dissolve the political relations of this State to the government of the United States or to any other state until a majority of qualified voters of this State voting upon the question shall ratify the same." The bill was carried in the senate by a vote of 30 to 2, and in the house by a vote of 105 to 18. It is significant that 11 of the 18 adverse votes cast in the house came from St. Louis, where abolition sentiment was strongest.

Resolu-
against
Coercion
the South-
States

Shortly after this measure had been passed, a Congressman from Mississippi arrived in Jefferson City to announce that his state had seceded and to ask for the cooperation of Missouri. He was very graciously received by Governor Jackson and was given the privilege of making an address to the legislature. A few days later the legislature put itself on record regarding coercion against seceding states by passing a resolution declaring that so "abhorrent was the doctrine of coercion that any attempt at such would result in the people of Missouri rallying on the side of their Southern brethren to resist to the last extremity." Against this resolution there was but one vote in the senate and only fourteen in the house.

The election that was held on February 18 was a great surprise and a bitter disappointment to those who had

been counting on Missouri seceding from the Union.¹ The secessionists had been comforting themselves with the notion that the election would plainly reveal the fact that Missouri could be counted on to follow South Carolina and the other cotton states. But of the 99 members

Election of
Delegates
to the
Convention



MISSOURI COUNTIES IN 1860

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electd to the convention, not one was in favor of immediate secession. All of them might be classed as either "conditional Union men" or "unconditional Union men."²

1. "Conditional Union Men"

¹ On that day Jefferson Davis was inaugurated president of the Southern Confederacy.

² Of the 99 members, 53 were natives of Virginia or Kentucky, and all but 17 had been born in slave states — 13 in Northern states, three in Germany, and one in Ireland.

The "conditional Union men" constituted by far the larger group in the convention. They held that the Union should be preserved, but they would pledge themselves

neither to remain with it under all circumstances nor to secede if Congress did not arrange a satisfactory compromise between the North and the South. Among the constituents of these "conditional Union men" were most of the old-time Whigs and the Democrats.

The "unconditional Union men" were determined to uphold the Union at whatever cost. They represented practically all the Republicans, a good many Northern Democrats, and some of the Whigs. Frank P. Blair, although not a member of the convention, was the leader of their group.¹



2. "Unconditional Union Men"

FRANK P. BLAIR

The leader of the Unionists of Missouri at the outbreak of the Civil War. From Stevens' *Missouri, the Center State*, by permission of the Missouri Historical Society.

That the legislature accepted the results of the election as unmistakable in their meaning is seen from the fact

¹ Blair was a Kentuckian by birth and was at this time just forty years of age. He came to Missouri in 1843 and began the study of law in the office of his brother, Judge Montgomery Blair, who afterward became Postmaster General under Lincoln. At the time the war with Mexico began he was in Santa Fé for his health, and after that place had been taken by Kearny, Blair was made attorney general of the Territory of New Mexico. He returned to St. Louis in 1847 and plunged into politics the next year. He soon became an anti-slavery leader. In 1848 he supported Van Buren, the Free Soil candidate for President, and the next year he championed the cause of Senator Benton in the struggle that had been precipitated in the State by the "Jackson Resolutions." Benton, much to his own hurt, had a sort of contempt for the

that the bill which it had been considering, that provided for arming and equipping the militia, probably for the purpose of preparing the State for secession, was promptly laid aside as futile.

On February 28 the convention met at Jefferson City and perfected its organization by electing Sterling Price,¹ a "conditional Union man," president. As soon as this was done the convention adjourned to St. Louis. This action was no doubt due to the well-laid plans of the Union men of St. Louis, who saw that, notwithstanding the fact that there were no secessionists in the conven-

**First Ses-
sion of the
Convention**

younger men growing up in the Democratic party in Missouri, and would have nothing to do with any of them but Blair. In 1852 Blair was elected to the legislature on the Benton ticket and was reelected in 1854. In 1856 he was elected to Congress and after dropping out for a term was reelected in 1860. Because of his attitude toward slavery, Blair might well be called an Abolitionist. But his opposition to slavery was based not so much on sentimental grounds as on the economic position that the system was a burden to society. He was not only opposed to slavery, but he was also bitterly opposed to secession. Under no circumstances would he favor the withdrawing of Missouri from the Union. Because of his fearless courage and great ability, he was readily recognized as the leader of the "unconditional Union men of Missouri."

¹ Sterling Price was born in Virginia in 1809. He came to Missouri in 1831, and after living at Fayette for two years he moved to Chariton County, where at first he engaged in mercantile business in Keytesville, and later in farming near that place. In 1840 he was elected a member of the legislature and was chosen speaker. In 1842 he was reelected to both positions. In 1844 he was elected to Congress, but resigned his seat in that body on the breaking out of the war with Mexico. He was commissioned by President Polk to raise a regiment to reënforce Kearny, who had set out on his Santa Fé expedition. After reaching Santa Fé, Price was left in charge of the place, while Doniphan went on the expedition against Chihuahua. In 1852 Price was elected governor of Missouri as an anti-Benton man. His career during the Civil War will be outlined in the chapters that follow. Perhaps no other man ever won the esteem of his followers as did Price. He was known familiarly as "Pop" Price.

tion, there was great danger in allowing it to continue its sessions in Jefferson City where the secessionists were so strong in the legislature. These Union men of St. Louis therefore got certain members from the country districts to introduce and support a motion to adjourn the convention to St. Louis, and authorized them to offer that body the free use of a hall in the Mercantile Library building and also free transportation from Jefferson City to St. Louis. When these generous offers were submitted, the convention quickly voted to accept them. Accordingly the convention transferred itself to St. Louis,

resuming its sessions there on March 4. On the day that it reassembled, a representative of Georgia appeared before it and announced the secession of his State, urging Missouri to do likewise.

The most important business transacted by the convention was the adoption of a report made by a committee of thirteen on Federal relations. The chairman of this committee was Hamilton R. Gamble, who was destined to become Missouri's war governor before many months



STERLING PRICE

Governor of Missouri, 1852-56, and the most prominent Southern leader in Missouri during the Civil War. From Stevens' *Missouri, the Center State*, by permission of the Missouri Historical Society.

passed. The report consisted of a series of resolutions, the first and most important of which declared that at present there was "no adequate cause to impel Missouri to dissolve her connections with the Federal Union, but on the contrary she will labor for such an adjustment of existing troubles as will gain the peace, as well as the rights and equality, of all of the states." This resolution

Report of
the Com-
mittee
on Federal
relations



was adopted by the convention with only one dissenting vote. Another of these resolutions declared that the people of Missouri would support the efforts that were still being made at Washington to effect a compromise between the North and the South; and another denied the use of military force by the Federal Government to coerce into submission the seceding states or by the seceding states to assail the Government of the United States.

Other resolutions expressing different views of the matter were introduced into the convention, but failed of passage. One provided that Missouri would "never permit men or money for the purpose of aiding the Federal Government in any attempts to coerce a seceding state." Another pledged Missouri to secede if the Union should be broken up. But the majority of the convention were against making any promises or pledges which would hinder its future policy. At the same time the convention gave no pledge that Missouri would stay in the Union under any and all circumstances. It was content merely to state clearly that for the present there was no adequate reason for Missouri to withdraw from the Union. After adopting Gamble's resolution the convention decided, on March 22, to adjourn subject to the call of the executive committee. By this action it prolonged its own existence and opened a way for it to become a factor in the later developments, as we shall shortly see.

On March 28, the legislature likewise adjourned without having made any arrangements for raising and supporting the militia for the protection of the State. Matters were in suspense. Unforeseen events soon precipitated a great struggle in Missouri which lasted for four long years.

REFERENCES

Carr, *Missouri*, ch. xviii. McElroy, *Struggle for Missouri*, pp. 1-50. This book is based largely on Peckham's *General Nathaniel Lyon* and Snead's *Fight for Missouri*, two of the most valuable books that have been written on the early period of the war in Missouri.

2. Consideration of Other Resolutions

3. Adjournment Subject to Call

Adjournment of the Legislature

The first of these books presents the Northern point of view, and the second the Southern. Both of them are now out of print and hard to get. Anderson, *A Border City in the Civil War*, pp. 1-62. The author of this book served as pastor of the Second Baptist Church in St. Louis from 1858 to 1866. He was an ardent Union man and took a very active part in the public affairs of that city during his residence there. In this book he relates in a most interesting manner many of the stirring events that occurred in St. Louis during the war. His account of the fight for the Arsenal and of the capture of Camp Jackson is especially illuminating. Rombauer, *The Union Cause in St. Louis in 1861*, chs. iv-viii. The author of this book was a colonel in the Union army and lived in St. Louis during the war. He writes at first hand concerning many of the things dealt with in this book.



CHAPTER XVI

THE CIVIL WAR — THE FIRST STRUGGLE FOR MISSOURI

[*Historical Setting.* — The same as that of Chapter XV.]

THE action of the convention in standing out against secession was approved by the majority of the people in the State. To Governor Jackson and a goodly number in the legislature, however, the convention had been a very bitter disappointment. They believed that war was inevitable, and that Missouri should join the seceding states without further delay. They had held this view even before the convention had declared that there was as yet no cause for Missouri severing her relations with the Union. They were determined, therefore, not to be balked in their purpose by the action of the convention, and they decided to await developments and to hold themselves in readiness to take Missouri out of the Union when the opportunity presented itself.

Disappointment of Governor Jackson over the Convention

Events moved very rapidly in Missouri during the month following the adjournment of the convention. On April 12, Fort Sumter was fired upon by the Confederates, and on April 15 Lincoln made his call for 75,000 troops. Missouri was asked by the Secretary of War to furnish four regiments of infantry as her quota of the 75,000. In reply to this request Governor Jackson said: "There can be, I apprehend, no doubt but these men are intended to form a part of the President's army to make war upon the people of the seceded states. Your requisition, in my judgment, is illegal, unconstitutional, and revolutionary in its objects, inhuman and diabolical, and cannot be complied with. Not a man will the State of Missouri furnish to carry out such an unholy crusade."

Jackson Refuses to Comply with Lincoln's Call

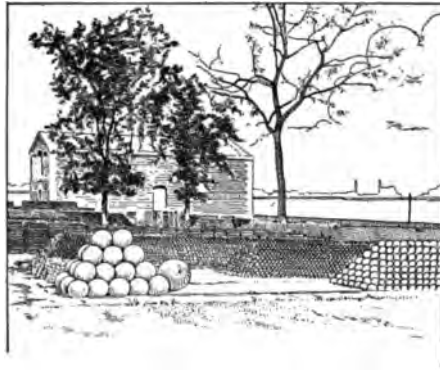
**Jackson and
the Federal
Arsenals in
Missouri**

There were at that time two United States Government arsenals in Missouri, a rather small one near Liberty, and a larger one at St. Louis. Now that Governor Jackson had defied the National Government, it was in order for him to seize these arsenals and use the military supplies therein in equipping the State militia for disunion purposes. On the 20th of April, nine days after the firing upon Fort Sumter and six days after Lincoln's call for 75,000 volunteers, a company of about 200 men, mostly

from Clay and Jackson counties, took the arsenal at Liberty and carried away the stock of guns and ammunition they found there.

**1. Capture
of the
Liberty
Arsenal**

**2. Plans to
Capture the
St. Louis
Arsenal**



THE FEDERAL ARSENAL AT ST. LOUIS

From a photograph made in 1861. See the map of St. Louis on page 349 for the location of the arsenal.

and more complicated affair than that at Liberty. The St. Louis arsenal was situated in the southern part of the city. It covered 56 acres of ground, fronting on the Mississippi River and was surrounded by a high stone wall on all sides except on the side along the river. Within the four massive buildings that were inclosed by this wall there were stored, according to one authority, 60,000 stands of arms, mostly Enfield and Springfield rifles, 1,500,000 cartridges, and 90,000 pounds of powder, besides other munitions of various kinds.¹

¹ According to another authority the only arms in the arsenal at the time were 30,000 percussion cap muskets, 1000 rifles, a few unfit cannon, and a few hundred flintlock muskets.

Plans were on foot at the same time to capture the arsenal at St. Louis, but the task of taking this one was a much bigger



Because of the location of the arsenal and the supplies contained therein, the question as to which side should get possession of it was one of very great importance. It is true that before the election of members to the State convention had been held, this arsenal might have been taken just as easily as the arsenal at Liberty. The garrison was not large, and Major Bell, who was the commander at the time, had intimated to General Frost of the State militia that he would not resist the proper State authorities if they demanded the surrender of the arsenal.¹ But by the time the great crisis arrived, the troops at the arsenal had been considerably increased in number and a new commander had been placed in charge. With these changes, the arsenal could not be taken except by using considerable force.

That Governor Jackson contemplated using force seems very evident from the moves he made. First of all, he summoned the legislature to reassemble on May 2. In his message to that body he reviewed the events that had occurred since it had adjourned, and he declared that the country was in imminent danger of destruction. Believing that the interests and sympathies of Missouri were identical with those of the slaveholding states, he recommended that the people of the State should be armed so that they might defend themselves against the aggression of all assailants.

Jackson not only reconvened the legislature, but also issued an order directing the militia throughout the State to go into camp in their respective districts on May 3 and to remain there for six days for the purpose of undergoing military drill and practice. Under this order, a force of about 700 men under General Frost encamped in

(a) Reassembling of the Legislature

(b) Mustering of State Militia in Camps

¹ Major Bell had been in charge of the arsenal at St. Louis for several years and, because of his financial interests in the city, had come to regard St. Louis as his home. On being removed from the command of the arsenal, he was ordered to report at New York. But he resigned from the army and retired to a farm near St. Louis.

a beautiful grove just within the western city limits of St. Louis, which was named Camp Jackson in honor of the governor.¹

In issuing this order gathering the State militia into camps, the governor was acting strictly according to law. "As to the legality of Camp Jackson there can be no doubt at all; there has never been any pretense that it was an unlawful assemblage or an illegitimate muster."

But as to the object that Governor Jackson had in mind in gathering the troops at Camp Jackson, there is



CAMP JACKSON

From a photograph taken shortly before its capture on May 10, 1861. See the plot of Camp Jackson on page 345, and the map of St. Louis on page 349 for the location of the camp.

(c) War
Material
Secured from
President
Davis

certainly no doubt that he was contemplating something that looked toward the capture of the government arsenal at St. Louis. This is borne out by the fact that he had applied to Jefferson Davis, president of the Southern Confederacy, for guns and munitions to assist in taking the arsenal, and that shortly afterward a large

¹ On April 17 General Frost presented a memorial to Governor Jackson asking for authority to station the militia on the bluffs south of the arsenal. If this had been done at that time, it would have given the State Guard a decided military advantage in case of any contest with the force in the arsenal. But by the time Jackson called the militia to camp early in May, Lyon had occupied all the heights near the arsenal, so that Frost had to locate his camp in Lindell Grove, in the western part of the city.



amount of war material that had been taken from the arsenal at Baton Rouge, Louisiana, was put on a steamboat and shipped under the disguise of ale, marble, etc. to St. Louis. On arriving at St. Louis, this material was promptly transferred to Camp Jackson in drays. It looked as though an attempt to capture the arsenal would be made by the Missouri secessionists in a very short time. That the attempt was not made is due to Nathaniel Lyon and Frank P. Blair, the two most uncompromising Unionists in all Missouri at that time.¹

Lyon had arrived at the arsenal in St. Louis on February 6 with a company of eighty regulars from Fort Riley, Kansas, having been ordered thence by General Scott, who had been secretly informed by Blair as to the way matters were going in Missouri. Blair immediately recognized Lyon as a kindred spirit, and from the outset they worked together zealously to keep the secessionists in Missouri from gaining any advantage in the State.

The first thing Lyon sought to do was to secure for himself the command of the arsenal, and in the course of a

¹ Nathaniel Lyon was born in Connecticut of old Puritan stock, in 1817. In personal appearance he was "of less than medium height, slender and angular; with abundant hair of sandy color and a coarse, reddish-brown beard. He had deep-set blue eyes; features that were rough and homely; and the weather-beaten aspect of a man who had seen much hard service on the frontier." In fact, he was directly from Kansas, where he had been engaged in military service for some time, and doubtless his experience in that unhappy country had intensified his hatred of slavery and slave-



GENERAL NATHANIEL LYON

Captor of Camp Jackson. Killed at the Battle of Wilson's Creek, August 10, 1861. From Stevens' *Missouri, the Center State*, by permission of the Missouri Historical Society.

Capture of
Camp
Jackson

1. Activity
of Lyon and
Blair

few weeks he succeeded. He then proceeded to place a patrol upon the streets leading to the arsenal to protect it from any possible attack that might be made. This brought him into conflict with the city authorities, and he was compelled by his military superior, General Harney, to withdraw the patrol. Lyon then managed through Blair to get Harney called to Washington to explain why he had forced Lyon to withdraw his patrol. With Harney gone, Lyon was left with a free hand in the city of St. Louis. Within two days he succeeded in getting a considerable portion of the guns and ammunition transferred from the arsenal to Springfield, Illinois, for safe keeping. He was in constant fear that the arsenal would be captured as other arsenals had been in the Southern states, and he thought best to remove at least a part of the munitions from the one at St. Louis, so that if it was taken, the victors would not gain so great an advantage.

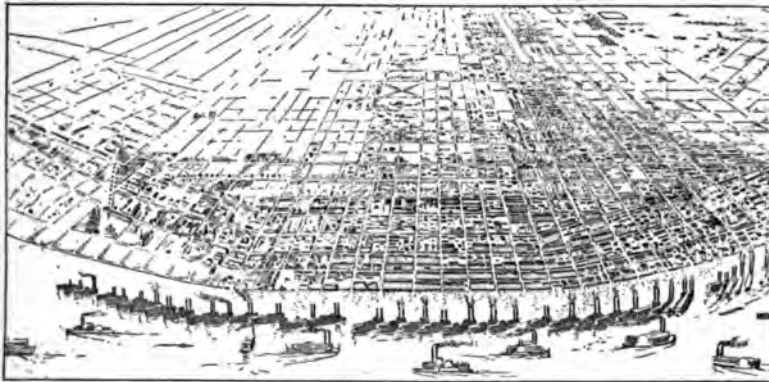
Blair meanwhile had been engaged in organizing and drilling military clubs in St. Louis called "Wide-awakes."¹ In fact, he had been engaged in this work ever since South Carolina seceded in December, 1860. At first these clubs were without any arms. But after Governor Jackson refused to honor President Lincoln's call of April 15 for troops from Missouri, Blair offered his "Wide-awakes" as volunteers. His offer was promptly accepted ;

holders; he was marked for his inability to see more than one side of a question, for his intense convictions, his impatience of control, his intolerance of others, and his tireless energy.

¹ The "Wide-awakes" were originally merely political clubs that had first been organized by Blair during the presidential campaign of 1860 for the purpose of carrying torches and banners in the Republican processions. The intense excitement that prevailed throughout the country after the election caused Blair to keep these clubs intact and to begin the task of transforming them into military companies. On the other hand, the "Minute Men" of the Democratic party also kept up their organization and their headquarters, and they too were transformed into military companies for the purpose of supporting the South.

the men in these companies were mustered into the United States service and forthwith received arms from the arsenal.¹

Shortly after that a part of the State militia had, as we have already seen, gone into camp on May 3 near St. Louis, in what is called Camp Jackson. Fearing that the mustering of the troops here was a part of Jackson's



BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF ST. LOUIS IN 1861 (LOOKING WEST)

scheme to make an attack upon the arsenal, Lyon and Blair decided to move against the camp and capture it. The time was opportune, inasmuch as Lyon's immediate military superior, General Harney, was still in Washington.

Before deciding finally to attempt the capture of the camp, Lyon determined to see for himself just how things were. Disguising himself as an old woman he rode through the camp in a carriage on May 9. He saw the streets of the camp named after such men as Davis and

¹ A few arms had been secured for the "Wide-awakes" a short time before this, through a trick. Those interested in maintaining these military clubs planned an art exhibit and had shipped to St. Louis from the East a number of plaster casts and paintings to be used in the exhibit. But in some of the crates that were marked "casts" there were muskets. These crates were carefully opened in secret and the muskets were afterward handed out to the men.

warranted. He also notified the committee that he knew nothing about the arms stacked at the entrance of his camp, which were said to have come from Baton Rouge, and that, as far as he was concerned, the United States Marshal might come and take them. These protestations were of no avail. Lyon refused to receive the letter that had been addressed to him; he had made up his mind to take the camp and would allow no parleying or delay.

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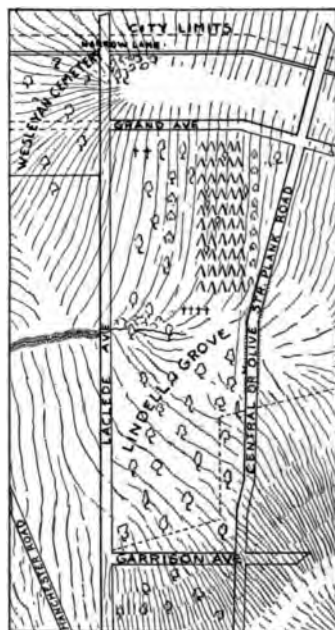
different columns appeared at the designated places almost simultaneously. As soon as he saw that his men had taken their positions, he sent a letter to Frost demanding the surrender of the camp within half an hour. Frost recognized the futility of offering any resistance and immediately replied that he was compelled to comply with the demand. On entering the camp, Lyon proposed to release the prisoners at once provided they would swear to support the Constitution of the United States. This they refused to do on the ground that they had not been

4. The Capture of the Camp, May 10, 1861

Republican in its issue of the next day (May 11) gave a full account of what had happened the day before. Regarding the excitement that prevailed during the evening, it said:

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the city. All the most frequented streets and avenues were thronged with citizens in the highest state of excitement, and loud huzzas and occasional shots were heard in various localities. There was very little congregating on the street corners. Everybody was on the move and

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“Crowds of men rushed through the principal thoroughfares bearing banners and devices suited to their general fancies and by turns cheering or groaning. Some were armed and others were not armed, and all seemed anxious to be at work. A charge was made on a gun store of H. E. Dimick on Main Street, the door was broken open, and the crowd secured fifteen or twenty guns before a sufficient number of police could be collected to arrest the proceedings. Chief McDonough marched down with about twenty policemen armed with muskets, and succeeded in dispersing the mob and protecting the premises from further molestation. Squads of armed policemen were stationed at several of the most public corners, and the offices of the *Missouri Democrat* and the *Anzeiger des Westens* were placed under guard for protection.”

As the evening wore on, quiet was restored and the streets became cleared of people. Order prevailed during the next day until early in the evening, when another street skirmish occurred between a regiment of Home Guards, made up largely of Germans, and a band of Southern sympathizers. The Home Guards were attacked while on their way from the arsenal where they had been armed. Six men were killed in the fray, four of whom belonged to the Home Guards, and several innocent passersby were wounded. The incident served to stir anew the passions of the people and to deepen the gulf between the two factions.

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3. On Sun-
day, May 12

By early afternoon a great host of people were fleeing, terror-stricken and in great haste, from the city. "Carriages and wagons filled with trunks, valises, hastily made bundles, and frightened men, women, and children were flying along the streets toward every point of the compass. Some scared souls, unable to obtain a vehicle

Beauregard, two of the most prominent leaders in the Southern Confederacy, and he also saw, stacked up at the entrance of the camp, the arms and munitions that had been sent to St. Louis from Baton Rouge.¹

2. Decision
to Capture
Camp
Jackson

That evening Lyon laid before the Committee of Safety of St. Louis his plan for taking the camp.² Blair was present at this meeting. Lyon's plan was opposed by the more cautious of the committee, who argued that the governor had only ordered the encampment for six days and that it would therefore expire very shortly. To these objections Lyon held that the legislature might pass a military bill making the camp permanent, and if that were done, the secession sympathizers would flock into the camp in such numbers as to make it extremely difficult to capture. Moreover, word had been received that Harney was on his way back from Washington and Lyon did not want to run the risk of having such a man assume command again. He therefore decided to attack Camp Jackson on the next day, May 10, the last day of the encampment, and he succeeded in getting the committee to support him in his decision.

3. Protests
of General
Frost

General Frost was aware of what Lyon was planning, and on the morning of the 10th he addressed a letter to the latter in which he stated that he had heard of rumors of an impending attack and protested against it as un-

¹ He impersonated Mrs. Alexander, the mother-in-law of Blair, who was an invalid and blind. She was accustomed to ride about the city of St. Louis with a heavy black veil over her face, and was therefore a familiar figure in the streets of the city. Dressed in her clothes and riding in her carriage, Lyon was not suspected at all during his drive through the camp.

² The Committee of Public Safety was organized in St. Louis early in the year by the "unconditional Union men" of that city. It consisted of Oliver D. Filley, then mayor of the city, John How, Samuel T. Glover, Frank P. Blair, James O. Broadhead, and J. J. Witzig. To these men was committed the task of looking after the cause of the Union in St. Louis, and it was under their direction that the Home Guards of that city were organized and prepared for military service.



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in rebellion and that, if they took the oath demanded of them, it would be an acknowledgment on their part that they had been in rebellion. They then stacked their arms and marched out between two lines of Union soldiers toward the arsenal.

5. Clash between the Federal Troops and the People

Unfortunately the advance of the column of prisoners was halted a little way out of the camp to allow the forming of the rear. In a few moments a bloody disaster occurred. The crowd that had gathered to witness the event began, shortly after the halt was made, to indulge in hostile demonstrations against Lyon's men. At first these demonstrations consisted only of vulgar epithets and abusive language. Inasmuch as one of the German companies called itself "Die Schwarze Garde" (The Black Guard), the crowd began to call the troops in derision "Dutch Black-guards." Encouraged by the silence and forbearance of the troops, the crowd then began to hurl rocks, brick-bats, and other missiles, and according to some accounts, discharged pistols at them. This proved too much for Lyon's troops, and they retaliated by firing upon the crowd. When the *mélée* was over, it was found that fifteen had been killed, three of whom were Camp Jackson soldiers who had just surrendered to Lyon. By six o'clock that evening Lyon had reached the arsenal with his men and the captured troops.¹

Excitement in St. Louis

Naturally St. Louis was thrown into a great deal of excitement by the events of the day. The *Missouri*

¹ On the next day all of Frost's men except one were released on subscribing to the following parole:

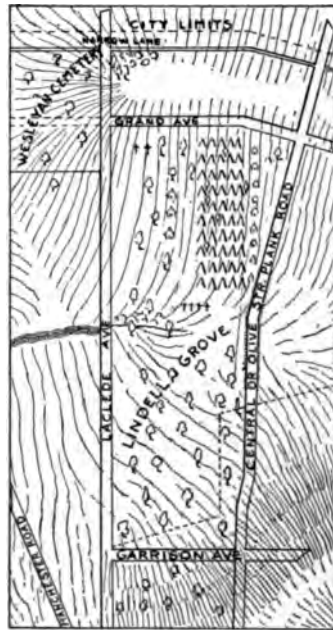
"We, the undersigned, do pledge our words as gentlemen that we will not take up arms nor serve in any military capacity against the United States during the present Civil War. This parole to be returned upon our surrendering ourselves at any time as prisoners of war. While we make this pledge with the full intention of obeying it, we hereby protest against the justice of its exaction." Captain Emmet McDonald at first declined to take the parole, and was kept at the arsenal for several days before he yielded.



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By early afternoon a great host of people were fleeing, terror-stricken and in great haste, from the city. "Carriages and wagons filled with trunks, valises, hastily made bundles, and frightened men, women, and children were flying along the streets toward every point of the compass. Some scared souls, unable to obtain a vehicle

of any kind, were walking or running with breathless haste, carrying all sorts of bundles in their hands, under their arms, or on their shoulders. All these were fleeing from imaginary danger. But the fancied conflagration and slaughter which they believed themselves to be escaping were to them awful realities, enacted with all their attendant horrors over and over again within their minds." Some of the panic-stricken people fled into the country and found shelter in the villages and farm-houses. Many crossed the river in ferries and sought refuge in Illinois, notwithstanding the fact that it was a strong Union state. Others took passage in steamboats and went either up or down the river. Those who did not flee from the city barricaded themselves in their homes and awaited the coming of the enemy with guns loaded. The dreaded calamity, however, did not come, and in a day or two the refugees began to come back to their homes and places of business.

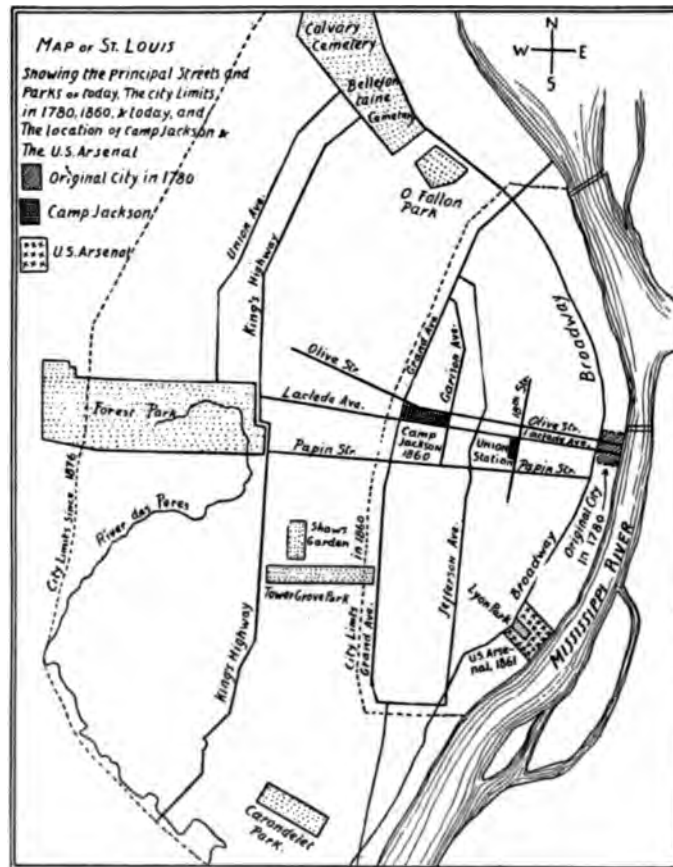
**Significance
of Capture
of Camp
Jackson**

The capture of Camp Jackson is one of the most significant events in the history of the Civil War. It was "the first really aggressive blow at secession that was struck anywhere within the United States." Viewed in the light of subsequent events in Missouri, it must be considered, however, as a stupendous blunder. This is seen first of all in the action taken by the legislature when the news reached Jefferson City that the camp had been taken. The legislature had been wrestling with the military bill ever since it had been reconvened on May 2.

**1. Passage of
the Military
Bill by the
Legislature**

This bill put all able-bodied men in the State in the militia and compelled them to obey implicitly the orders of their superiors, all of whom were to be appointed by the governor; it also defined the crime of treason against the State, extending it to words spoken in derogation of the governor or the legislature. Very little progress had been made with this bill, owing to the vigorous opposition offered by the small band of Union men in the legislature, but the opposition was swept aside when the news came

in the evening that Camp Jackson had been captured. The wild scene that followed the reception of the news



SKETCH MAP OF ST. LOUIS

Showing the location of the original village in 1780; the Federal Arsenal, Camp Jackson, the city limits during the Civil War, and the city limits at present. Only a few of the leading streets of the city of to-day are shown.

is said to have been indescribable. Within fifteen minutes, after some sort of order had been established, the military bill was passed by both houses and was in the

hands of the governor for his approval. Later in the evening, it was rumored that the Federal troops had left St. Louis for Jefferson City to capture the governor, the staff officers, and the legislature. The legislature was again called together by the ringing of bells and the shouting of men, and remained in secret session until three o'clock in the morning. Although there was nothing in the rumor, the legislature took no chances and adopted drastic measures to ward off the attack.

Within the next five days the legislature passed other laws authorizing the expenditure of more than two million dollars for the purpose of repelling invasion. Doubtless it would also have passed a secession ordinance had it not been that the question of the relation of Missouri to the Union had already been referred to a specially elected convention.

2. Conversion of Conditional Unionists into Secessionists

The capture of Camp Jackson not only precipitated action on the part of the legislature, but it drove many men into the ranks of the secessionists who had heretofore been upholding conditionally the cause of the Union. Undoubtedly, this was the most serious consequence that followed the event. Among those who went over to Governor Jackson and the secessionists was Sterling Price, who was at once appointed to the position of commander-in-chief of the militia that had just been provided for by the legislature.¹ Because of the popularity of the man, this action of his had a far-reaching influence upon a great many people who, uncertain as to what they should do, now joined the secessionists just because Price had done so.

Price-Harney Agreement

Meanwhile General Harney, who, as we have seen, had returned to St. Louis and assumed his command of the department, approved of the capture of Camp Jackson and issued a proclamation in which he declared that all

¹ The State was divided into eight military districts and over each of these districts the governor appointed a brigadier general to organize and drill the militia.

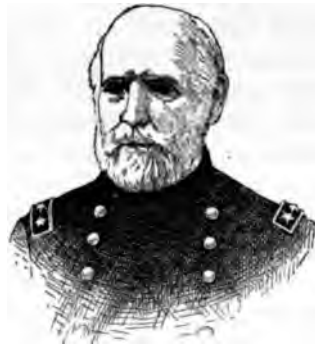
the power of the United States would be exerted, if necessary, to keep Missouri in the Union. But he stated that he had no desire to engage in open warfare unless forced into it. He therefore sought to hit upon some plan that would save the State from plunging into war. He notified General Price to meet him in St. Louis, and the two came to some sort of understanding which was published over their names and which has generally been known as "The Price-Harney Agreement." In this agreement Price undertook to direct the whole power of the State officers to maintain order in the State, and Harney declared that if order were maintained he would make no military movement which would be likely to create excitement and jealousy.

In accordance with this agreement, Price dismissed the troops at Jefferson City. There was, however, great dissatisfaction among the Unionists of the State

because of the agreement. It was particularly offensive to Lyon and Blair and to the St. Louis Public Safety Committee. A circular letter was therefore sent out by the committee into all parts of the State asking that all offensive treatment of loyal Unionists by the secessionists be reported to it in detail.

In response to this letter, complaints began to come in from all parts of the State alleging that loyal citizens were being outraged and even driven from their homes. These complaints were forwarded to President Lincoln for the purpose of influencing him to issue an order removing Harney and putting Lyon in his place. That purpose was

1. Terms of
the Agree-
ment



GENERAL W. T. HARNEY

From Stevens' *Missouri, the Center State*, by permission of the Missouri Historical Society.

2. Removal
of Harney

achieved. The order removing Harney and placing Lyon in his stead was sent to Blair, together with private instruction from Lincoln to withhold it until such time as, in his judgment, the necessity for such action was deemed urgent. On May 30, Blair decided that the emergency had come and he therefore produced the order which installed Lyon in Harney's place. Lyon was thereupon in full command not only of St. Louis, but also of Missouri, and indeed of all the territory between the Mississippi and the Rockies, except Texas, New Mexico, and Utah.

**Interview
between
Lyon and
Jackson in
St. Louis**

Although the elevation of Lyon to this prominent position meant a new order of things, Governor Jackson and General Price hoped that they might control the situation and they sought an interview with Lyon. This was granted them under a special safe conduct, guaranteeing that they should be free from molestation or arrest during the journey to and from St. Louis.

The Issue

The interview occurred on June 12 at the Planters House in St. Louis, and lasted four or five hours. At the outset, Lyon announced that the discussion on the part of "his Government" would be conducted by Blair, but inside half an hour Lyon had pushed Blair aside and was conducting the discussion himself. The issue was soon clearly drawn: Jackson declared that he wanted to keep Missouri neutral; to that end he promised, among other things, to disband the State Guard, to prevent arms and munitions of war being brought into the State, to repress the insurrection movements within the State, to repel all attempts to invade the State, provided the Federal Government would disarm the Home Guards which had been organized throughout the State, and would pledge itself not to occupy with its troops any place in the State not occupied by them at the time.

This proposition was rejected by Lyon and Blair, and they not only demanded "the disorganization and disarming of the State militia and an annulment of the



military bill, but they refused to disarm their own Home Guards, and insisted that the Federal Government should enjoy an unrestricted right to move and station its troops throughout the State whenever and wherever it might be decided, in the opinion of its officers, either for the protection of the loyal subjects of the Federal Government or for repelling invasions."

Failing to come to any agreement, Jackson made a last attempt to have both sides agree not to recruit troops in Missouri. When this proposition was made, Lyon replied: "Rather than concede to the State of Missouri the right to demand that my Government shall not enlist troops within her limits, or bring troops at its own will into, out of, or through the State; rather than concede to the State of Missouri for one single instant the right to dictate to my Government in any matter, however unimportant, I would (rising as he said this, and pointing to every man in the room) see you, and you, and you, and every man and woman and child in the State dead and buried."

Then, turning to the governor, he said: "This means war. In an hour one of my officers will call for you and conduct you out of my lines." Then, without another word, without an inclination of the head, without even a look, he turned upon his heel and strode out of the room, rattling his spurs and clanking his saber as he went.

This action closed the door upon all prospects of peace. Thereafter there was nothing left for Missouri but war. Jackson and Price immediately hurried to the depot of the Pacific Railroad and, impressing into their service a railway train, rushed back to Jefferson City as fast as they could, arriving there at two o'clock the next morning. They stopped long enough on their way, however, to burn the bridges behind them over the Gasconade and the Osage rivers and to cut the telegraph wires.

Immediately upon reaching the capital, Jackson issued a proclamation to the people of Missouri in which, after

2. Failure to
Reach any
Agreement

3. Return o
Jackson to
the Capital

**Mobilization
of Troops** announcing the results of the interview with Lyon and declaring that the Federal Government intended to take military possession of the State, he called for 50,000 of the State militia to assemble to repel the impending Federal invasion. At the same time Lyon was moving out of St. Louis to Jefferson City by way of the river and was sending an expedition by land to southeast Missouri. The outcome of these military movements and the events that followed immediately thereafter will be dealt with in the succeeding chapter.

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CHAPTER XVII

THE CIVIL WAR — THE SECOND STRUGGLE FOR MISSOURI

[*Historical Setting.* — The Battle of Bull Run (July 21, 1861) and the Battle of Pea Ridge (March 6–8, 1862).]

WE saw in the preceding chapter that the first thing Governor Jackson did on arriving at Jefferson City was to call for 50,000 of the State militia to assemble to repel the impending Federal invasion. He also exhorted "all good citizens of Missouri to rally under the flag of their State for the protection of their endangered houses and firesides, and for the defense of their most sacred rights and dearest liberties." According to the census of 1860, there were at least 236,000 men in Missouri capable of bearing arms, and Governor Jackson doubtless hoped that his appeal would bring to the defense of the State a great many more than the 50,000 he called for.

**Jackson's
Call for
Volunteers**

But Governor Jackson did not tarry at the capital to await the response to his call. Lyon was hot on his trail with a considerable force, and he therefore decided to abandon Jefferson City and go to Boonville. In company with General Price and other State officers, he went up the river in a steamboat to Boonville the day after issuing his proclamation.¹

**Movement
of Lyon up
the Missouri**

Two days after Jackson left Jefferson City, Lyon arrived there with a body of regulars and volunteers, having come up the river in steamboats. He was enthusiastically received by those who were opposed to secession, of whom a large proportion were Germans, and he immediately took possession of the town and the capitol.

**1. Occupa-
tion of
Jefferson
City**

¹ Governor Jackson was destined never to see Jefferson City again. He died near Little Rock on December 6, 1862.

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**Jackson's
Call for
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But Governor Jackson did not tarry at the capital to await the response to his call. Lyon was hot on his trail with a considerable force, and he therefore decided to abandon Jefferson City and go to Boonville. In company with General Price and other State officers, he went up the river in a steamboat to Boonville the day after issuing his proclamation.¹

**Movement
of Lyon up
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Two days after Jackson left Jefferson City, Lyon arrived there with a body of regulars and volunteers, having come up the river in steamboats. He was enthusiastically received by those who were opposed to secession, of whom a large proportion were Germans, and he immediately took possession of the town and the capitol.

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REFERENCES

Anderson, *A Border City in the Civil War*, pp. 63-119. McElroy, *Struggle for Missouri*, pp. 50-117. Carr, *Missouri*, pp. 291-313. Rombauer, *The Union Cause in St. Louis in 1861*, chs. vii-viii. Webb, *Biographies and Battles of Missourians*, chs. iv-v. This book presents the Southern side of the struggle in Missouri during the Civil War. The father of the author was a Confederate soldier and his mother was sent into exile with her young family under "Order Number Eleven." The book, however, is free from much of the bitterness that is to be found in many of the books written just after the war by those who participated in that strife.

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Advance
Boon-
ville

When Lyon heard that Jackson had gone to Boonville, he decided to follow and to drive the State forces from that point if possible. Lyon recognized the strategic importance of Boonville. If it were held by Jackson, the State forces under his direction could be stationed on the bluffs overlooking the river and they might prevent any Federal expedition from ascending the river beyond that point. Lyon was determined that every place of importance along the Missouri River below Kansas City should be controlled by the Federal Government and that an effective patrol should be established over the river. If that were done, then the northern part of the State would be cut off completely from the southern part, which was a matter greatly to be desired by the Unionists. On the other hand, Jackson and Price saw the necessity of keeping at least a portion of the Missouri River open. They realized how vital it was to their cause to maintain communication between the northern and the southern portions of the State. For these reasons both sides attempted to get control of the Missouri at the outset of the war, and for the same reasons the South made desperate efforts from time to time during the war to dislodge the North from the control which it had managed to gain very early in the conflict.

Battle of
Boonville

Before leaving Jefferson City, Jackson had ordered the brigadier generals of the eight districts of Missouri to concentrate as many of their forces as possible at Boonville and Lexington, and in response to that order nearly 1500 had gathered at Boonville under General John B. Clark by the time Jackson reached the place. Most of them, however, were poorly armed and many were without arms at all; practically all were totally untrained for active warfare. Moreover, Price was taken very ill after leaving Jefferson City and had to retire temporarily to his home in Chariton County.

On hearing that Lyon was approaching Boonville, Jackson ordered the State troops to advance under



Colonel Marmaduke to a point six miles down the river from Boonville and there to offer battle. They very pluckily resisted Lyon for a while; but the superiority of the latter's troops soon began to tell, and in the course of a few hours all of Jackson's forces were completely routed and driven not only from the field of battle, but also through the town and far beyond it. This engagement occurred on June 18.

On the day after reaching Boonville, Lyon issued a proclamation to the people of Missouri in which, after reviewing the events leading up to the battle just fought, he declared that he would "scrupulously avoid all interference with the business, rights, and property of every description recognized by the laws of the State and belonging to law-abiding citizens"; but he asserted that it was equally his duty "to maintain the paramount authority of the United States" with such force as he had at his command.

4. Lyon's Proclamation to the People of Missouri

Although the battle of Boonville was only a slight military skirmish,¹ it was very significant in its results. In the first place, it put a check for the time being upon the volunteer enlistments in Price's army. Southern sympathizers had confidently hoped that Lyon would be stopped at Boonville, and when he was not, much of their ardor subsided, temporarily at least. In the second place, it gave the Federalists possession of the highly strategic point on the river at Boonville, and the gaining of this point opened the way for an effective attack upon Price, who had sufficiently recovered to assume command at Lexington. As a matter of fact, three different forces were moving toward Lexington at that time, one from Boonville, another from Fort Leavenworth, and another from Iowa.² In a short time, therefore, after the defeat at Boonville, the State Guard was compelled to fall back

5. Significance of the Battle of Boonville

¹ The number killed on both sides seems to have been only four.

² The forces that were making their way from Fort Leavenworth and Iowa had been sent for by Lyon.

from the Missouri to the Osage River. This river enters Missouri from Kansas about sixty miles south of Kansas City and flows in an easterly and northeasterly direction until it empties into the Missouri a few miles below Jefferson City. The Osage thus forms a natural line of defense for that part of the State through which it flows. Recognizing this fact, Price had advised Jackson to order the State troops to take up their position behind the Osage, and in this way he hoped to gain time for their adequate organization.

Concentration of the State Guards in the Southwest

But the Federals did not allow the State troops to remain along the line of the Osage. Lyon had foreseen from the first what would probably happen, and he had sent a force from St. Louis through Rolla toward Springfield at the time he left for Jefferson City. Anticipating a retreat on the part of the State troops to the southwestern part of the State, he had sent this force toward Springfield for the purpose of making the line of the Osage untenable for them. Moreover, he wished to be in a position to thwart any move that might be made by the Confederate forces in Arkansas to invade Missouri and render assistance to Governor Jackson in his effort to take Missouri out of the Union.

1. Advance of Federal Troops toward Springfield

Matters developed, for a time at least, as Lyon had expected. The presence of the Federal troops near Springfield made it hazardous for the State troops to try to hold the Osage. Moreover, the advance of other Federal forces southward from Boonville and Lexington, after these places had been abandoned by the State troops, compelled these troops to go still farther into the southwestern part of the State. This retreating force was under the personal command of Governor Jackson, General Price having been sent ahead into Arkansas to solicit the aid of McCulloch, who was in command of certain Confederate forces in that State.

2. Battle of Carthage

By July 4, Governor Jackson was nearing Carthage with a body of slightly more than 4000 men, many of whom



had joined him as he was passing southward. On the next day he was intercepted by a Federal force of 1000 men under Colonel Sigel, who had been sent out from Springfield to hold him in check until Lyon could come up from Boonville and complete his destruction. Sigel, however, failed to do what had been expected of him and was compelled to retreat rather precipitately back toward Springfield. Jackson then entered Carthage the next day, and here he learned from Price, who had returned from Arkansas, that after much persuasion McCulloch had consented to come to their assistance. For some time McCulloch had declined to respond to the solicitations of Price because Missouri had not yet seceded, and his orders forbade him from entering Federal territory. But he was finally induced to disregard those orders and to come with a force to aid Jackson against Lyon.

As things turned out, there seemed to be no immediate need of McCulloch's assistance after Sigel's retreat from Carthage. Lyon had not been able to reach Springfield on account of the high water in the Osage and the other streams which he had to cross in moving south from the Missouri River. McCulloch therefore returned to northwestern Arkansas for the time being, and Price brought together all the State Guards that had retreated southward and encamped them at Cowskin Prairie in the extreme southwestern part of the State. Here he undertook to get this force into some sort of organized shape. This was a task of no ordinary proportions. There was a good supply of powder and also of lead, but there were no molds for making bullets or shot. Molds had therefore to be improvised, and only after considerable difficulty was a sufficient supply of bullets and shot secured. But there was a lack of arms and of uniforms, and there was no money with which to buy these things. Moreover, food supplies were not very plentiful, — in fact the men often went hungry. But notwithstanding these handicaps, Price was able to get things whipped into shape suffi-

3. Price's
Encampment
at Cowskin
Prairie

ciently to enable the State Guards to give a good account of themselves when they were next brought into action.

It will be seen from what has been said that, up to the time of Sigel's retreat from Carthage to Springfield, every move that had been made by the Federals in Missouri had been successful. The governor had been forced out of the State capital and the State Guards had been driven from the Missouri River into the southwestern part of the State. But with Sigel's retreat, this series of Federal victories and advantages was brought to a halt, for a time at least, and during the next few months, as we shall see, it looked as though the Federals would lose much of what they had gained in Missouri.

Lyon's
campaign
around
Springfield

Lyon did not reach Springfield until July 13, having been delayed, first, in getting away from Boonville, on account of the lack of adequate transportation facilities, and second, after leaving Boonville, by the high water he encountered on his way. On arriving at Springfield he found that the entire force under his command numbered less than 6000 men. Moreover, of this number nearly 3000 had enlisted for only ninety days, and as their time would expire by the middle of August it was necessary to move quickly if their services were to be made use of. In addition, the supplies were insufficient, and there was a great deal of dissatisfaction among the troops.

Request
for Reën-
forcements

Lyon saw at once that reënforcements were needed immediately, and he telegraphed to St. Louis to that effect. But his urgent requests were not honored. There were several reasons for this. There had been a change in the command of the Department of Missouri. It seems that Lyon was not trusted at Washington, and the command had been taken from him and conferred first upon McClellan and then upon Frémont. Frémont was Benton's son-in-law and had been the first Presidential candidate of the Republican party in 1856. Lyon and Blair had been much displeased with McClellan's appointment, but they had welcomed the



appointment of Frémont. In their expectations of Frémont, however, they were doomed to bitter disappointment. Their distrust of him began with his almost inexcusable delay in reaching St. Louis. Though appointed early in July, he did not make a move to get to his new post until late in the month. It was July 25 before he reached St. Louis.

By that time the whole country, North and South, was profoundly stirred by the battle of Bull Run, which occurred on July 21. The North was downcast, the South jubilant. It looked for a time as though Washington would be taken, and the War Department was making every effort to prevent that from occurring. Forces that should have been sent to other fields were kept near Washington, and orders were going out calling to Washington troops from those fields. Moreover, when Frémont arrived at St. Louis he felt that his first obligation was to keep enough troops at that place to insure holding it, and that his second duty was to take care that Cairo at the mouth of the Ohio should be properly protected. Notwithstanding the fact that he had 56,000 troops stationed at thirteen different places in the State at the time, and many of them idle, he had no ear for Lyon's appeals.

After having spent three weeks in drilling and organizing the State Guard at Cowskin Prairie, Price decided that they were ready for an engagement. He broke camp on July 25 and started for Cassville, a town situated about forty miles southwest from Springfield. He arrived at Cassville on the 28th with about 5000 troops, and, in accordance with prearranged plans, McCulloch arrived there the next day with about 3200 Confederate troops, and a little later Pearce came up with 2500 Arkansas State troops. There were, therefore, nearly 11,000 men headed toward Springfield where Lyon was quartered with a force of less than 6000 men.

Hearing of this movement toward Springfield, Lyon

2. Advance
of Price to
Cassville



Lyon's
advance to
and Retreat
from
Cassville

decided to try his hand at forestalling a united attack of all these forces upon him. He therefore moved out of Springfield toward Cassville on August 1 and sought for an opportunity to strike separately at the different forces that were coming. The next day he met the advance guard of the Missouri troops and easily put it to flight. On the following day he advanced still farther until he came within six miles of McCulloch's camp. Fearing, however, that his line of communication with Springfield might be cut off if he remained here very long, he fell back upon that place, arriving there on the 5th.

Differences
between
Price and
McCulloch

That Lyon was able to make these movements without being intercepted was doubtless due to the lack of harmony in the camp of his opponents. Price wanted to give battle to Lyon at once, but McCulloch was reluctant. There were several reasons for McCulloch's reluctance. His orders, for one thing, did not permit him to make an unrestricted advance into the State. Moreover, he had "little confidence in the fighting qualities of the Missourians" and he "hesitated about risking a battle so long as the army was subject to a divided command." Price divined the cause for McCulloch's unwillingness to move against Lyon, and he thereupon proposed that all the troops be placed under McCulloch's command, reserving, however, the right to resume the command of the Missouri State troops whenever he saw fit. To this proposition McCulloch assented, and then announced that he was ready to move against Lyon. By that time, however, Lyon had begun his retreat to Springfield and could not be overtaken before reaching that place. But McCulloch moved on until he came to Wilson's Creek about ten miles southwest of Springfield. On the morning of August 6 the entire force under his command was in camp along the banks of that stream.

It was several days before any further advance was made. In spite of Price's urging, McCulloch was unwilling to make "a blind attack," as he called it, upon

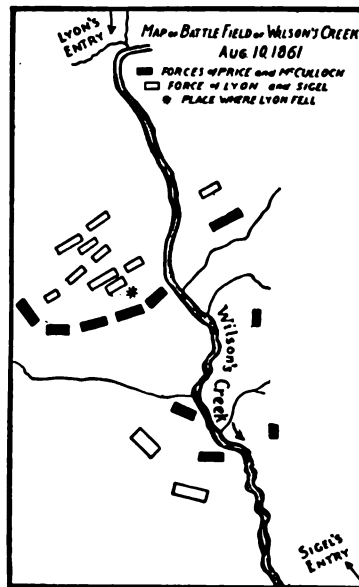


Springfield. Several stormy scenes occurred between Price and McCulloch. Finally McCulloch agreed on August 9 to make an attack, but not until Price had threatened to take the Missouri troops and give battle with them alone.

But the offensive in the battle of Wilson's Creek was taken not by McCulloch but by Lyon. The latter found himself in great straits. To the southwest of him was a force about twice as large as his and ready for the fray. No reinforcements had reached him as yet, although they had been started. He did not want to retreat, because of the bad effect such a move would have on his cause, so he decided to take the risk of giving battle. Dividing his forces into two parts, he planned to attack the two ends of the enemy's line at the same time. He sent Sigel with 1200 men, late on the afternoon of the 9th, to turn the right flank of the enemy and attack

them from the rear, while he himself set out with 4200 men to make an attack on the front. These movements were effected by midnight, so that on the morning of the 10th Price and McCulloch lay between Lyon and Sigel and were seemingly unaware of that fact until the attack was begun almost simultaneously at both ends of the line at about five o'clock that morning. McCulloch under-

5. Battle of Wilson's Creek, Aug. 10, 1861



BATTLE OF WILSON'S CREEK
AUGUST 10, 1861

Adapted from map in McElroy's *Struggle for Missouri*.

took to meet the attack made by Sigel, while Price opposed Lyon. By nine o'clock Sigel was retreating upon Springfield, having been completely routed. McCulloch then turned to assist Price against Lyon, and for three hours more the contesting forces grappled with each other in deadly conflict. At the critical moment Lyon was

killed. By noon the Federals were in full retreat upon Springfield under the command of Sturgis, who had succeeded Lyon.¹



GENERAL FRANZ SIGEL

Space will not permit a full description of this battle, which many consider the most famous of all the military engagements in Missouri during the Civil War. It was noteworthy because of the desperate bravery that was manifested on both sides and because

of the fearful losses that both sides sustained. Of the 5400 Federal troops engaged in this battle, 1302 were killed, wounded, or missing, and of the nearly 11,000 State Guards and Confederates, 1242 were killed, wounded, or missing.²

¹ The night before the battle Lyon wrote a letter to Frémont announcing his plans for the next day. In that letter there was "not one word about the desperate battle he was to fight on the morrow, not one fault-finding utterance, not one breath of complaint. But, true to his conviction, true to his flag, true to the Union men of Missouri who confided in and followed him, true to himself and true to his duty, he went out to battle against a force twice as great as his own with a calmness that was as pathetic as his courage was sublime." This encomium is not from one of Lyon's followers but from Colonel Snead, Price's chief of staff.

² The total casualties on both sides were 2544, or nearly 16 per cent of all those engaged.



The greatest loss on the Federal side was General Lyon himself.

Every military advantage lay with Price and McCulloch after the battle, and had they only followed the retreating Federals relentlessly, they would probably have captured every one of them before they could have reached Rolla, the southern terminus of the railroad running into St. Louis. But McCulloch declined to join Price in the pursuit, giving the same reasons that he had given before. He therefore withdrew into Arkansas and left Price to grapple with the situation in Missouri alone. That Price failed ultimately in this task was due in part, no doubt, to the fact that he was not able to follow up the military advantage that was his after the battle of Wilson's Creek.

Notwithstanding Price's inability to follow up his victories, the effect of Wilson's Creek upon the parties contending for the control of the State was unmistakable. Coming so soon after Bull Run, it was thought of as another bit of Southern good fortune, and this had the effect of adding to the depression of the Northerners and increasing the exhilaration of the Southerners.

Taking advantage of the large numbers of men that flocked to his standard after the battle of Wilson's Creek, Price decided to turn northward and attempt to break the patrol of the Missouri River which the Federals had established after Jackson had been driven from Jefferson City and Boonville. He therefore started from Springfield on August 25 toward Lexington. On his way he turned aside long enough to drive out of the State some Kansas troops under "Jim" Lane, pursuing them as far as Fort Scott, Kansas. Resuming his march upon Lexington, he reached that place with his advance guard on September 13. Here he found a force of about 3000 men under Colonel Mulligan, who had been ordered to stay until relieved. In the face of an opposing army that grew to be many times larger than his (Price is said to have had between 14,000 and 20,000 men in all at

6. Inability
of Price to
Follow up
his Victory

Price's
Campaign
around
Lexington

1. Battle of
Lexington,
Sept. 18-20,
1861



SURRENDER OF MULLIGAN AT LEXINGTON, SEPTEMBER 21, 1861
From Webb's *Biographies and Battles of Missourians*.

Lexington), Mulligan declined to make his escape to the other side of the river on the steamboat at his command, and instead withdrew his forces to Masonic College Hill, which overlooked the river. Here he entrenched his men and sent an urgent request to Frémont at St. Louis for reinforcements. Had Frémont sent them at once they



would have reached Lexington in ample time, as Price rested his men for five or six days before beginning the attack.

On the 18th Price seized the steamboat and then cut Mulligan off from the river, thus leaving him without any water supply whatsoever. The reinforcements that came the next day to help Mulligan were unable to be of any assistance, and therefore landed on the other side of the river. After an almost continuous bombardment for two days, Price made a general assault, his men rolling before them large bales of hemp thoroughly dampened to resist hot shot, and under the cover of these they were able to advance right up to Mulligan's works. By that time the besieged men were dying with excessive thirst under a broiling hot sun, and to avoid useless bloodshed Mulligan surrendered on September 21. The losses on both sides were very small, only 40 killed and 120 wounded on the Federal side, and only 20 killed and 75 wounded on the Confederate side. These small losses were due to the effective entrenchments of Mulligan and the movable breastworks of Price.

As soon as the Federal patrol of the Missouri River was broken at Lexington, a great many Southern sympathizers in the northern part of the State flocked across to join Price. Unfortunately for the Southern cause, however, Price was not able to maintain himself at Lexington, and so on September 30 he set out again for southwest Missouri, thus leaving the Federals once more in control of the Missouri River.

Two reasons may be assigned for Price's return to the southwestern part of the State. First, Frémont had become alarmed lest Price should attempt to move down the river to Jefferson City and try to recover that place. He had therefore sent an army of about 20,000 toward Springfield and had gone in person with his bodyguard to Jefferson City to see what could be done in the way of warding off any possible attack upon it by Price. Mere

2. Return of
Price to the
Southwest

military precaution would therefore cause Price to fall back to southwest Missouri, where he could at least be in easy communication with McCulloch. Second, Governor Jackson had called the legislature to meet in extra session at Neosho on October 21, and Price doubtless felt that that body needed protection against Federal interference. At any rate, Price left Lexington on September 30, and in the course of a few days he was once more in the southwestern part of the State.¹

Plans of
Frémont in
the
southwest

By the latter part of October Frémont had assembled at Springfield an army of 40,000 men with which he hoped to accomplish great wonders. First, he planned to capture or disperse the forces of Price; then to move against Little Rock and Memphis and ultimately New Orleans. He had the assurance to believe he could easily accomplish all these things; but before he could begin to put into execution the first of them, he was removed from command. The way in which he had allowed Lyon to be defeated at Wilson's Creek and Mulligan at Lexington proved to be too much for the authorities at Washington, and he was removed. This occurred on November 2. General Hunter, who was installed in his place, ordered the Federal forces to fall back to Rolla and Sedalia, greatly to the relief of Price and his men. For the next three months Price's army "lived at their ease" in and around Springfield with no one to disturb them.

Meanwhile two very important political events had taken place. The first of these was the reconvening of the State convention which, as we have seen, had adjourned on March 22 subject to the call of its executive

¹ Price left a guard of 500 men at Lexington in charge of Mulligan's officers, who had been taken as prisoners on the capture of that place. On October 16 this guard was surprised by an attack made by a company of Prairie Scouts and was badly scattered. After liberating the prisoners the Scouts marched to join Frémont, who was moving to the southwestern part of the State.



committee. Acting under the authority thus conferred upon it, this committee called the convention to assemble at Jefferson City on July 22. In another chapter special attention will be given to the things done at this session of the convention; all that needs to be noted here is that on July 30 it declared all the State offices vacant, and elected Hamilton R. Gamble as governor, and Willard P. Hall, lieutenant governor. It also declared the seats of all the members of the legislature vacant and set a time for the election of their successors. By this action of the convention a provisional government was set up in Missouri with headquarters at St. Louis in place of the one that had been elected by the people in 1860. Although Governor Jackson and Lieutenant Governor Reynolds tried to maintain their authority, they were powerless to enforce their orders. Real authority had passed to the convention and the officers created by it.

Establishment of a Provisional Government by the Convention

The second of these important political events was the special session of the legislature held at the call of Governor Jackson at Neosho on October 21. Only a portion of the members attended. Perhaps there was not a quorum of either house in attendance. Notwithstanding that fact, those who assembled proceeded to pass an act declaring that Missouri had seceded from the Union. It also elected two senators and eight representatives to represent Missouri in the Confederate Congress. In taking this action the legislature was guilty of a double illegality. In the first place, no quorum was present, and in the second place, the matter of the relation of Missouri to the Federal Union had been consigned to the convention.

Declaration of Secession by the Legislature

In defense of the legislature's action it was said that conditions had changed since the convention had been elected in February and that sentiment in favor of secession had been gaining in the State. Hence the legislature was justified in the minds of a great many

people in declaring that the State had withdrawn from the Union. At any rate, the Confederate Congress recognized what had been done by the legislature of Missouri, and the State was formally admitted into the Southern Confederacy on November 28, 1861. Thereafter Missouri was regularly represented in the Confederate Congress.

But the action of the legislature in declaring the secession of Missouri from the Union was futile so long as there was a strong military force in the State to render that declaration ineffective. It was therefore necessary that something be done to clear the State of that force. On the other hand, the Federal authorities felt that every effort should be put forth to prevent any recovery of military advantage on the part of those who had been plotting to take Missouri out of the Union, and especially to put an end to the efforts of the Confederacy to bring military assistance into the State. These opposing policies make clear the military movements of the next few months that culminated in the battle of Pea Ridge, Arkansas, on March 6-8, 1862.

Pea Ridge
campaign

We saw a moment ago that Price had established himself at Springfield early in November, 1861, after the withdrawal of the Federal troops to Rolla and Sedalia, and had apparently thought to settle down there for the winter. But Price realized that a great crisis was impending and he sought to get ready for it by making a special appeal for help. He prepared an appeal or proclamation that was published as an extra issue of the *Missouri Army Argus*, a paper which was occasionally published by the officers of his command on a press that accompanied his army. This appeal was addressed to the "people of central and northern Missouri," asking for the immediate enlistment of 50,000 men. He reminded them how Governor Jackson had called in June for that many men "to drive the ruthless invader" from Missouri, and how only 5000 men had responded. In language that was

Price's
appeal for
enforce-
ments



impassioned and rather melodramatic in style, he urged the people of Missouri to rally to the cause of the South, and pleaded for 50,000 immediate recruits. He virtually promised that every citizen who should lose anything by "adhesion to the cause of his country" would be indemnified out of "the \$200,000,000 worth of Northern means in Missouri which cannot be removed."

In response to this call many men enlisted, although the number did not amount to 50,000 by any means. Special efforts were made by the Federal authorities in Missouri to prevent recruits going to Price from northern and central Missouri, but nevertheless many got past the patrol and reported to him at Springfield.

The crisis came upon Price much sooner than he contemplated. He scarcely expected any movement on the part of the Federals until spring, and was therefore greatly surprised when General Curtis began to move upon Springfield about the middle of February, during very inclement weather. There was nothing else for Price to do but to retreat before this approaching army. He therefore fell back to Cassville and from thence into northwestern Arkansas. Here he was once more joined by McCulloch and later by Van Dorn, who assumed command of the combined forces. With this army of about 25,000, of whom 5000 were Indians, Van Dorn turned to give battle to Curtis with his 10,500, who had taken up a strong position on what was known as Pea Ridge. For three days, March 6-8, the battle was waged with ever-changing fortune. Finally the Confederates were forced to retreat, leaving the field to the victorious Federals. The loss of the latter was 1351 killed, wounded, and missing. The loss of the Confederates is not known, but it was probably much greater than that of the Federals. Among the killed on the Confederate side was General McCulloch.

2. Price's
Retreat into
Arkansas

3. Battle of
Pea Ridge,
March 6-8,
1862

In its significance this battle outranks all the others that had yet taken place in the history of Missouri. The



4. Signifi-
cance of Pea
Ridge

(a) On the
Situation in
Missouri

defeat of the Confederates at Pea Ridge meant that the act of secession passed by the rump legislature at Neosho the preceding October would never be enforced. We have seen how the people of Missouri had decided through a convention held in February, 1861, that there was no cause then for Missouri severing her relations with the Federal Union. We have seen how in spite of that action Governor Jackson had plotted to take Missouri out of the Union anyway. We have seen how in the contest of arms in Missouri the advantage lay first with the Federals and then with the Confederates. Up to the time of the battle of Pea Ridge there was no certainty as to whether the Federals or the Confederates would hold Missouri. But after that battle uncertainty in this matter was at an end. The Confederates themselves abandoned hope and for two years made no effort to send troops into Missouri to take her out of the Union. Price, himself, with 5000 of his Missourians, was transferred to the east side of the Mississippi for service, and he did not return to Missouri to renew the struggle for the State until 1864. Not that peace reigned in Missouri during that time. As we shall see in the next chapter, this period of two years was one of great distress and bitter strife in Missouri. But during this time there was no concerted effort, on a large scale at least, to take Missouri out of the Union.

The second struggle for Missouri was closed by the battle of Pea Ridge, and, like the first struggle, it was won by the Federalists. Thereafter "Missouri was as firmly anchored to the Union as her neighbors, Illinois, Iowa, and Kansas." The battle for Missouri had been fought and won.

(b) In Other
Fields

The securing of Missouri to the cause of the Union had a very important bearing upon the progress of the war in other fields, especially in Kentucky. Like Missouri, Kentucky was torn by divided opinions on the question of secession. She attempted at first to take a neutral



position, but she was forced from that attitude by the Confederate invasion of the State in September, 1861. This called for military action on the part of the Federals, but with Missouri yet uncertain they were cautious about concentrating too much attention upon Kentucky. They saw it would not do to leave Illinois exposed to attacks from Missouri. But with Missouri safely disposed of, as she was by the battle of Pea Ridge, their effort to drive the Confederates out of Kentucky could then be taken up with full vigor. The successful outcome of this campaign, however, is not a part of our story here.

In this connection attention should be called to the battle of Belmont in southeastern Missouri on November 7, 1861. This battle was primarily a part of the campaign to prevent Kentucky from being taken out of the Union, but there was a secondary purpose in this engagement, namely, to prevent any Confederate troops from entering Missouri from that direction. At that time Price had moved from Lexington to Springfield and was watching the movements of the Federals that Frémont had brought down into that part of the State. It would have contributed greatly to Price's cause if a serious diversion could have been created in southeastern Missouri just at that time. That it was not made was due to the engagement that Grant brought on at Belmont.¹

**Battle of
Belmont**

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¹ For a brief account of this affair and its connection with the campaign in Kentucky, see Fiske's *Civil War in the Mississippi Valley*, pp. 39-51.



CHAPTER XVIII

THE CIVIL WAR—THE LAST STRUGGLE FOR MISSOURI

[*Historical Setting.* — The Surrender of Lee at Appomattox.]

**Price Enters
the Con-
federate
Service**

**1. Critical
Situation
in the
South**

**2. Departure of
Price and
his Men**

It was noted in the preceding chapter that very shortly after the battle of Pea Ridge Price entered the Confederate service and was transferred with 5000 of the Missouri State Guards to the east of the Mississippi. Doubtless he and his men would not have taken this step had they not realized that Missouri had been lost to the Confederacy. The call to the service of the Confederacy came to them while at Van Buren, Arkansas, to which place they had retreated after the defeat at Pea Ridge. The situation at that time was very critical for the South. Grant was pushing down toward Shiloh, having taken Fort Henry and Fort Donelson in Tennessee on February 6 and February 16 respectively, and it was necessary that the South should put forth every effort to check his progress. Urgent appeals were therefore sent to Price to render help in the coming crisis. Price immediately put the matter before his men as to what they would do, and most of them decided to go with him into the Confederate service. But a goodly number preferred to return to Missouri and do all they could there toward mustering recruits for the Confederate army. Probably they felt that Missouri might yet be severed from the Union, and they were anxious to have a share in bringing that about.

Leaving those who preferred to return to Missouri at Van Buren under General Rains, Price with those who decided to go into the Confederate service proceeded from thence to DesArc, Arkansas, on the White River, and here they embarked for Memphis. Before embarking

Price issued a very strong appeal to the Missouri State Guards, calling upon all of them to follow him into the Confederate camp just as 5000 of them had done, promising that "if every man will do his duty his own roof will shelter him in peace from the storms of the coming winter."¹ Not every man, however, who followed Price across Mississippi enlisted for an indefinite length of time. Many were willing to go with him to the relief of Beauregard, who had in the meanwhile been defeated by Grant at Shiloh (April 6-7), but they insisted on being allowed to return to Missouri whenever they saw fit. These men were accepted on these conditions, and after serving a few weeks in northern Mississippi, they made their way back to Missouri. Among these were Joe Shelby and John T. Hughes.



GENERAL JOE SHELBY
Famous among the Confederate
Generals of Missouri.

On the arrival of Price and his men at Beauregard's headquarters near Corinth, Mississippi, they were organized as the First and Second Missouri Brigades. With the career of these brigades during the rest of the war we cannot be concerned here; but it should be said that they remained together down to the close of the war, "firing their last gun at Fort Blakeley on the shores of the Gulf of Mexico" on April 9, 1865, the very day on which Lee surrendered to Grant at Appomattox. They went into the Confederate service about 5000 strong,² but only

3. Missouri
Brigades

¹ This appeal was dated April 8, 1862.

² The original 5000 that Price took with him were almost immediately increased to 8000. The number probably never ran above that at any one time.

800 survived the numerous combats in which they were engaged, and half of these survivors were in hospitals sick or wounded when the war closed. Probably few armies can show such a record of mortality as did that of the Missouri brigades in the Confederate service.

**Skirmishes
and Battles
between the
Federals
and the
Confederate
Recruiting
Parties**

The withdrawal of Price from Missouri was not followed, however, by a period of peace throughout the State. As has been said, the two years or more that intervened between the battle of Pea Ridge in March, 1862, and Price's great raid in October and November, 1864, were filled with numerous skirmishes and battles. None of them was of the same class or order as Wilson's Creek or Pea Ridge, but nevertheless they served to keep the State in almost constant turmoil.

Many of these engagements during this period of two years were between the Federals and bands of recruits trying "to go south." A large number of these bands were organized by Price's men who had declined to follow him into the Confederate service and had preferred to return to Missouri. In all probability some of them came back to Missouri for that purpose at the express suggestion of Price. However that may have been, we know that during the spring and summer of 1862 recruiting camps sprang up in many parts of Missouri, especially in the northern and central parts, and that generally the leaders of these camps were successful in getting considerable bodies of men together to join the Confederate service.

As soon as it became known to the Federal authorities that recruiting was going on in the State, they sent out expeditions against these recruiting camps and stations to try to break them up. In fact, most of the camps were broken up or the recruiting parties were scattered, so that the scheme of sending men south in large numbers was not very successful. This is not the place to present even in the merest outline the history of these clashes between the Federals and the Confederate recruiting parties, but a few words may be said about the battles of Kirksville,



Independence, and Lone Jack, all of which were occasioned by the pursuit of Confederate recruiting parties by the Federals.

The battle of Kirksville (August 6, 1862) resulted in the breaking up of the recruiting campaign that had been carried on by Colonel Joseph C. Porter in northeastern Missouri during the preceding three or four months.

Porter had been elected lieutenant colonel of a regiment raised in Lewis County in July, 1861, and had taken an active part in the campaign in Missouri that year, and had also been with Price at Pea Ridge. He was among those who declined to follow Price into the Confederate service after the battle of Pea Ridge, and came back to Lewis County and established a recruiting camp there during April or May, 1862. By the first of July the Federals discovered what Porter was doing and took steps to break up his camp. As most of Porter's men were unarmed he was in no position to

withstand any large force, and so his plan was to keep out of the way of those pursuing him. For nearly a month he was able to keep up an almost constant marching up and down northeastern Missouri, with an occasional skirmish, before being overtaken by Colonel John H. McNeil at Kirksville. By that time he had brought together nearly 2000 men, but as not more than 500 of them were armed they were no match for the Federal forces when the latter overtook them. The result was that Porter's men, after

1. Battle of
Kirksville,
Aug. 6, 1862



COLONEL (LATER GENERAL) JOHN
H. MCNEIL

Commander of the victorious Federal forces at Kirksville on August 6, 1862. He is more generally known for causing the execution of ten Confederate prisoners at Palmyra on August 18, 1862, which is commonly known as the "Palmyra Massacre."



making several hours' stand against great odds at Kirksville, were forced to flee in great disorder into the Chariton hills west of the town. Although Porter tried to reassemble his men, subsequent clashes with the Federals in Macon County forced him to give up the attempt entirely. Thus ended probably the most noted effort to enlist Confederate recruits in northeast Missouri after the battle of Pea Ridge.

Battles of Independence (Aug. 1, 1862) and Lone Jack (Aug. 16, 1862)

The battles of Independence (August 11, 1862) and Lone Jack (August 16, 1862) were brought about by efforts to recruit Confederate soldiers in Jackson County. After the defeat at Pea Ridge, Colonel Upton Hayes came back to Jackson County and in July established a recruiting camp near Lee's Summit. By August first he had gathered 150 men at this camp. At that time there was a Federal force at Independence under Colonel James T. Buel, and as soon as he heard what Hayes was doing, he decided to send to Kansas City and Lexington for reënforcements and then break up the camp. But before these reënforcements could reach Buel, he was attacked by a large Confederate force which included that of Hayes and that of Colonel Hughes, who was on his way to recruit in Clinton County, north of the Missouri River, and also that of Quantrell, the most noted of the Missouri guerrillas. The result was that Buel was captured and the Federal post at Independence was broken up. At Lone Jack the united forces of several recruiting officers, among whom was Colonel Vard Cockrell, attacked Major Foster in an engagement that was noted for its desperateness. Although neither side could claim a clear-cut victory, the Confederates were compelled to retreat southward on hearing of the approach of a large Federal force. In fact, they were soon driven completely out of the State into Arkansas.

Discontent in Missouri

Other engagements between Confederate recruiting bands that were trying to go south might be related, but these are sufficient to give us a glimpse into what was going

on. Statistics are not available to show just how many Missourians went into the Confederate service through these recruiting expeditions, but the fact that large numbers were drawn into these camps and were ready to go south indicates that there must have been considerable discontent with the situation in Missouri. If we seek for the causes for this discontent we shall find them not only in the "sympathy with the people of the South and the cause for which they fought," but also in such acts of the provisional government of Missouri as the order issued by Governor Gamble enrolling every man of military age in the State militia and authorizing General Schofield, who was then in command of the department of Missouri, to call into the Federal service as many of the militia as he would need to put down marauding and to preserve peace.

1. Governor
Gamble's
Military
Order

"The order was somewhat indefinite; it was generally supposed to be preliminary to a draft, and it was looked upon by the Southern sympathizers as betraying an intention on the part of the State and the Federal authorities to force them into the army and make them fight against their friends and relatives in the South. They also regarded it as a violation by the State of the implied bargain which had been entered into when they were disarmed and obliged under penalty of arrest and imprisonment to take an oath not to bear arms against the United States or the provisional government of Missouri and to give a bond for the faithful observance of the oath. They held, and with some measure of justice, that in effecting this bond, as had generally been done throughout the State, the government had recognized them as non-combatants; and they resolved that if they must take a part in the war, they would choose the side upon which they were to fight. Hence, as General Schofield admitted, the first effect of this measure was to cause every rebel who could possess himself of a weapon to spring to arms, whilst thousands of others ran to the brush to avoid the required enrollment."



Inter-
ference
the
militia

In addition to Governor Gamble's military order we must take note of the constant interference of the State militia with unoffending citizens, especially with those who were looked upon as sympathizers with the South, if we are to understand why recruiting for the Confederate service was popular in Missouri during the summer of 1862. Leaving out of consideration those cases of military interference that affected the entire State and "confining ourselves to those that involved crimes against a class or against individuals, they will be found to run the entire gamut — ranging from arbitrary arrest and imprisonment of men and women for mere opinion's sake to the murder of prisoners; from the illegal requisition of unnecessary supplies by irresponsible parties to robberies, pillage, and arson.

) Responsi-
bility of
subordinate
officials for
outrages

"To a great extent these lawless proceedings were in violation of orders, and it would therefore be unjust to hold the department commanders or the administration at Washington responsible for them. They were the acts of subordinates, and it is fair to add that as a rule they resulted from ignorance and an excess of zeal rather than from a spirit of wantonness or the desire of personal gain. By some curious process the average military officials, especially those from other states, appeared to have satisfied themselves that Missouri was disloyal; and acting upon this conviction, and ignorant perhaps of the fact that there was such a thing as military law, they not infrequently conducted themselves in a manner that would hardly have been justifiable in an enemy's country. Instead of discharging the delicate duties of their office in such a way as to give as little offense as possible, they acted as if it were the policy to exasperate the people among whom they were stationed and drive them into the rebel army or, worse still, into some wild and predatory band of guerrillas. In this, unfortunately for the State, they were too often successful."

The memory of the outrages committed by the military



upon unoffending citizens has been the hardest to outlive of all the bitter memories of the war in Missouri. Many a young man was driven into the Confederate service or to the brush because he had been compelled to witness in utter helplessness the perpetration of awful outrages upon his family or neighbors, and naturally the memory of these wrongs rankled in his soul. Hard feeling in its bitterest form lingered longest against those who served in the State militia. For the Federal soldier who fought in the open against armed forces, the Confederate soldier had great respect; but for the State militiamen who remained at home and skulked about over the country taking vengeance upon unarmed men and helpless women and children, he had nothing but the greatest contempt and the bitterest hatred, and for years after the war he continued to hold against these men the same feelings.

(b) Bitterness of the Confederates toward the State Militia

The situation was made all the more distressing in Missouri by the renewal of the strife along the western border. We have seen how, after three or four years of turmoil, quiet and order were being restored on the border at the close of the year 1860, thanks to the cooperative efforts of the governors of Missouri and Kansas. But on the outbreak of the war these border troubles were renewed in a form more violent than ever.

Renewal of Border Warfare

The most prominent leader of the Kansas Freebooters was "Jim" Lane. We saw how he was driven out of the State by Price in 1861 while moving northward to Lexington after the battle of Wilson's Creek. But Price had no more than begun his attack upon Lexington when Lane and his men were back in Missouri again, making for Osceola, which they looted and burned on September 23, besides killing a score of people. Shortly afterward they sacked Butler and Parkville in like manner.

It was not long before western Missouri was infested with bands of robbers from Kansas known as "Red Legs" from the red morocco leggings which they wore. It was

1. Kansas "Red Legs"

“their custom to dash into Missouri at intervals, seize horses and cattle, — not omitting other and worse outrages on occasion, — and then repair with their booty to Lawrence, where it was defiantly sold at auction.”

Sacking
Lawrence
by Quantrell

Such conduct as this brought on retaliation at the hands of Missouri guerrillas, and as the two sets of outlaws preyed upon one another and upon innocent people besides, matters grew constantly worse until they culminated in the awful tragedy, the sacking of Lawrence, Kansas, by Quantrell, the most daring and lawless of Missouri guerrillas. This occurred on August 21, 1863. Gathering about him 250 men in Jackson County, Quantrell rode with them all night, entering Lawrence at the break of day. Their task was to kill every man and burn every house in the town. “Riding through the streets with yells and curses, they shot down with their revolvers every man they encountered on the highway or in the houses, keeping up the shooting until there was no longer a man to be found. The streets, banks and hotels were rifled and then set on fire and burned, together with many private dwellings. General Lane was in the neighborhood of Lawrence at the time and the guerrillas were particularly desirous to kill him, but he managed to escape their vengeance. When the work of rapine and treachery was completed, they galloped off, leaving the town in flames and 183 persons killed on the streets and in the burning houses.”

“Jennison has laid waste our houses!” more than one Missourian shouted on the day of the sack, “and Red Legs have perpetrated unheard-of crimes. We are here for revenge and we have got it!”

“Order
Number
Eleven”

For this raid of Quantrell upon Lawrence, fearful revenge was taken upon the western border of Missouri by General Ewing of the Eleventh Kansas Infantry Volunteers through his notorious “Order Number Eleven.” According to this order all persons then living in Jackson, Cass, and Bates counties and a part of Vernon County,



except those living within one mile of the limits of the principal towns, were ordered to leave their places of abode within fifteen days. All those who could prove to the nearest military commander that they were loyal citizens were allowed to take up their residence at any of the military stations in these counties or in any part of Kansas except along the eastern border. All other persons were ordered to leave these counties. Furthermore, all grain



“ORDER NUMBER ELEVEN”

From a painting by Colonel George C. Bingham, a member of the staff of General Thomas Ewing, who issued the order. In this scene is depicted something of the terror and distress that ensued in executing the order.

and hay were to be taken to the nearest military station, where the owners were to be given certificates showing their values, and all products not so delivered were to be destroyed. Specific instructions were given to the military commanders in these counties to execute this order promptly and vigorously.

Against this cruel order there went up the most passionate and vehement protests, but they were of no avail. Throughout the counties named it was most pitilessly executed, and men, women, and children were forced to

(a) Execution of the Order

flee from their homes as best they could to save their lives. Unfortunately, as is usually the case in war, the greatest hardship and suffering fell upon the women and the children. Cass County was almost completely depopulated; only 600 of the 10,000 inhabitants were allowed to remain, and these were crowded into military stations at Harrisonville and Pleasant Hill. In Bates County there were even fewer people left than in Cass.

Depredations of the "Red Legs"

In addition to being depopulated, these counties were ruthlessly devastated by the Kansas "Jayhawkers" and "Red Legs," who came rushing in, ostensibly to assist the military authorities in executing the order, but in reality to burn, lay waste, and plunder. Indeed, they did not stop at murder; many men while in the act of obeying the order were shot down by them.

Prairie fires

Following upon this willful devastation came disastrous prairie fires which swept away what the "Jayhawkers" left, and when in 1866 the exiles began to return to their homes, they found the roads and their farms overgrown with weeds, and frequently there was nothing left of their homes but blackened chimneys. For this reason the term "Burnt District" was applied to Bates and Cass counties for many years after the war.

Attempted justification of the order

The justification that was offered by those responsible for this ruthless order was that it was the only way to put an end to the guerrilla warfare that was affecting the border counties of Kansas and Missouri. If these Missouri counties were depopulated and laid waste, the guerrillas, it was said, would not be able to get the supplies needed for such attacks as that which had just been made upon Lawrence, and hence border warfare would cease. But no greater act of imbecility was committed in Missouri during the whole Civil War than the issuing and the executing of this order. It was a confession on the part of the Federal commander that he was unable or unwilling to put down the bushwhackers and to keep out the "Red Legs." Under the circumstances he should have given up



his command to some one else instead of resorting to measures that entailed so much unmerited suffering on the part of unoffending people.¹

Other instances of military retaliation on both sides might be related here at great length, but space will not permit.² Neither can we take up the petty raids made into the State in 1863 by Marmaduke, Shelby, Poindexter, Jeff Thompson, and others. We must turn our attention to the last great military enterprise undertaken in Missouri during the war, namely, Price's famous raid into the State in the fall of 1864.

For a year prior to this raid Price had been operating in Arkansas, having been transferred to the Trans-Mississippi department by President Jefferson Davis shortly before the fall of Vicksburg in July, 1863. Here he was made to serve under men who were not his equals in military capacity. Some of the operations in which he participated in Arkansas were very disastrous to the Confederates, as for example the futile attack upon Helena

Price's
Raid, 1864

1. Opera-
tions of
Price in
Arkansas

¹ No other act during the war in Missouri has been given such wide publicity as this "Order Number Eleven." This was due largely to the artist, Colonel Bingham, who was on Ewing's staff at the time the order was made. Bingham claims that he begged Ewing not to issue the order, and that when his pleadings proved of no avail he declared he would some day make Ewing infamous. After the war Bingham painted a picture depicting some of the scenes that occurred in the execution of this order, and called it "Order Number Eleven." The picture became very popular and copies of it were lithographed and sold throughout the country, especially in Missouri.

Fourteen years after the event, General Schofield wrote a letter which was published in the *St. Louis Republican*, claiming that Ewing was not solely responsible for the order. He said that the responsibility lay between himself and Ewing and President Lincoln. He also attempted at some length to justify the order and declared that it was enforced without causing any unwarranted hardship. To this Bingham made a spirited reply and related many incidents of suffering which he had witnessed during the execution of the order.

² The Palmyra massacre (August 18, 1862) and the Centralia massacre (September 27, 1864) are among the most widely known of the military retaliations that occurred in Missouri during the war.





on July 4, 1863, but some of the others were very successful. It was from the spoils of one of these successful campaigns conducted in the summer of 1864 that Price was enabled to supply his army with "transportation, small arms, artillery, camp equipage, and ammunition



PRICE'S RAID, 1864

enough to load three hundred wagons," and thus make possible his raid into Missouri.

2. Pilot Knob and Jefferson City

He entered Missouri in the southeast corner of the State with 12,000 men, and after leaving Doniphan in Ripley County on September 20, he marched in such a direction as to make Rosecrans, who had charge of the Federal troops in Missouri, think he was going to attack St. Louis. Most of the Federal troops had been taken out of the State to assist Sherman in his Atlanta campaign, so that Price was able to reach Pilot Knob, a point half

way between the southern border and St. Louis, before he encountered any resistance. In fact, Price was aware of the denuded military condition of Missouri and this knowledge had much to do with causing him to plan and execute this raid. At Pilot Knob he was ineffectively opposed by General H. S. Ewing, but instead of going to St. Louis as Rosecrans had expected, he turned westward on reaching Franklin County and marched toward Jefferson

City. It was then apparent that his object was to take the capital, where Lieutenant Governor Reynolds would assume the position of governor in place of Jackson, who had died in December, 1862. Reynolds was with Price on this raid and was naturally eager for the carrying out of the plan that would enable him to assume the governorship, but he was doomed to great disappointment. By the order of Rosecrans, a large



GENERAL H. S. EWING

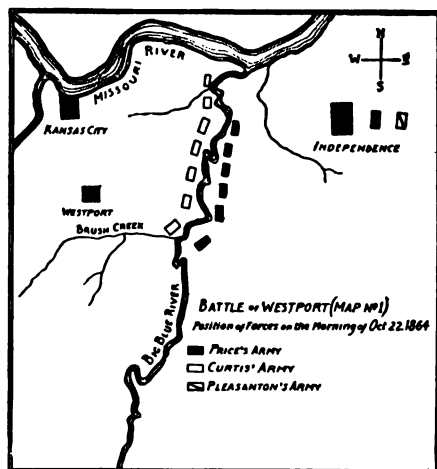
Commander of the Federal forces that opposed Price at Pilot Knob during the Raid of 1864.

Federal force had been gathered at Jefferson City from different parts of Missouri for the defense of that city. Price immediately decided to pass around the place and go farther on to the west. This was on October 8.

Within two weeks he reached Independence, having 3. Westport passed through Boonville, Glasgow, and Lexington on his way, and engaging the enemy at the last two places. His line of march west from Jefferson City was marked by the destruction of railroads, telegraph lines, and bridges, in the accomplishment of which he was aided by a number of

(a) Price's
Advance to
Independence

guerrillas, including Quantrell, Anderson, and Todd.¹ But as he approached Independence, Price found himself opposed by a force that had been gathered there under General Curtis, and at the same time pursued by another force under General Pleasanton that was coming up on his rear from Jefferson City. On October 21 he engaged Curtis on the Little Blue, a small stream eight miles east of Independence, and forced Curtis to withdraw behind



(b) The
Three Days'
Battle

BATTLE OF WESTPORT

On the second day of the battle. Adapted from a map in Jenkins' *Battle of Westport*.

the Big Blue, west of that place. The next day Price had to divide his forces, sending part of them against Curtis on the Big Blue and holding the rest to oppose Pleasanton on his rear. During the day he found himself in desperate straits and escaped from being crushed as in a vise by withdrawing southward from Independence and taking up a position on Brush Creek, a tributary of the Big Blue just south of Westport. The battle was renewed the next day, with most disastrous results to his army. In great haste Price retreated southward into Arkansas with General Blunt in hot pursuit, reaching Fayetteville in the northwest corner of that State on November 6. His flight was marked by great misery. "The pursuit of Blunt was relentless; the skirmishes and battles were

¹ Anderson and Todd were both killed while with Price on this raid.



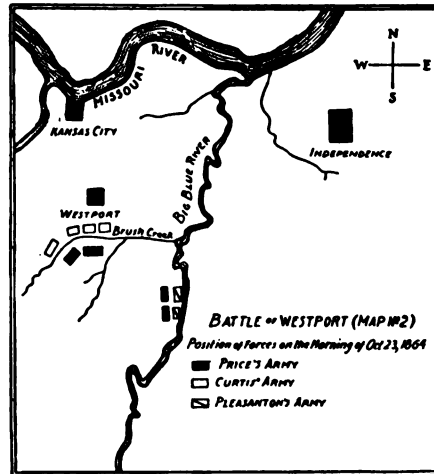
implacable; the route of the retreat was strewn with wrecks of wagons, scattered camp equipage, abandoned tents, clothing, guns, dead horses, and dead men, both Federal and Confederate."

In its bearing upon the course of the war, the battle of Westport has been called the "Gettysburg of the West." "Barring only the number engaged and the corresponding losses, the battles of Gettysburg and Westport had much in common. Each

was the result of a campaign of invasion planned by the Confederate war department for the purpose of severing the Union territory at the point of attack, the one in the East, the other in the West. Each campaign was intended seriously to embarrass the Federal defense by necessitating the summoning of distant forces to resist

the invasion, thus setting other Confederate forces free to conduct their own lines of action. Each seriously threatened the principal cities in the invaded territory, and in each case that territory was chosen for the reason that it contained places of such importance — Washington, Baltimore, and Philadelphia in the Eastern campaign; St. Louis, Kansas City, and the important military post of Fort Leavenworth in the Western. The engagement in which each campaign culminated occupied three days of incessant fighting, and the defeat to the Confeder-

(c) Westport, the "Gettysburg of the West"



BATTLE OF WESTPORT

On the third day of the battle. Adapted from a map in Jenkins' *Battle of Westport*.



ate arms with which each closed put an end forever to further attempts at carrying the war northward in their respective portions of the Union. Each such defeat established one of the high tide marks of the Confederacy, the one in the East, and the other in the West. 'And finally, each period of three days' conflict composed, in

numbers and importance of results attained, the largest and most decisive land battle of the Civil War in its respective portion of the two great natural divisions of the United States, the territories lying respectively east and west of the Mississippi River."

This raid was the last effort made by the Confederates to carry the war into Missouri. Petty skirmishing and bushwhacking continued down to the close of the war in April, 1865, but no organized military effort was made in Missouri after Price retreated from the State in November, 1864.

From every point of view Price's raid must be considered



STATUE OF GENERAL STERLING PRICE

Recently erected at Keytesville, Missouri, the old home of Price.

er a failure, and probably no one was more disappointed over its outcome than Price himself. Before he entered Missouri, secret organizations had been established among the Southern sympathizers throughout the State for the purpose of securing recruits for him. One of these organizations was known as the "American Knights of the State of Missouri." Price depended considerably upon these organizations to help him carry on his raid. He also expected that many of the men who had been

4. Results of the Raid



forced into unwilling service in the State militia, which was known derisively as the "Pawpaw Militia," would rally to his standard. But, whatever his hopes were, they were by no means realized. Instead of the 23,000 recruits he had been promised, no more than 6000 men joined his ranks as he passed through the State. Moreover, this number of recruits was balanced by the losses he sustained, so that he gained nothing in the end on this score. In addition, his raid did not prevent the Federals from sending reinforcements to Thomas, who was then at Nashville, nor did it exert any considerable influence on the Presidential election of that year. It did, however, have an effect on the constitutional convention elections, which were held about the time Price entered Missouri, that proved to be very detrimental to the Southern sympathizers in the State, as we shall see in a later chapter.

From a purely military point of view there were no battles of first rank in Missouri during the Civil War, but while encounters were on a small scale they were very numerous. Counting battles and skirmishes, there were about 450 military engagements in Missouri during the war. Many of these engagements were skirmishes between the militia and bands of Confederate recruits who were trying to make their way south. In fact, practically all the engagements north of the Missouri River were of this sort.

The number of Missourians that entered either the State Guards of Governor Jackson or the Confederate service can never be known definitely, but it is thought that the total exceeded 40,000. On the other hand, 110,000 Missourians went into the Federal service.¹ In this regard Missouri compares very favorably with the free states that bordered upon her and even with others more remote. As we have seen, there were 236,000 men of military age at the opening of the war; of that number

¹ Of that number 14,000 perished in battle or from disease.

**Missouri
and the
Civil War**

**1. Military
Equipment
in Missouri**

**2. Number of
Missourians
Engaged**



only seventeen per cent went into the State Guard and Confederate service, while forty-seven per cent went into the Federal service.

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CHAPTER XIX

THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT OF MISSOURI — ITS PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

[*Historical Setting.* — The Adoption of the Thirteenth
Amendment.]

It will be recalled that as Lyon was advancing from St. Louis to Jefferson City in June, 1861, Governor Jackson and other State officials abandoned Jefferson City, going first to Boonville, where they were overtaken and defeated by Lyon, and then later to the southern part of the State. Leaving Price, who had been placed in command of the State Guards, to take up the work of organizing these troops for active resistance against the Federal forces that were coming down upon them, Jackson made his way to Memphis to seek military assistance at the hands of the Confederate authorities there.¹

**Governor
Jackson
Abandons
Jefferson
City**

Assuming that the State of Missouri was then without any established government, the State convention which had adjourned its first session on March 22, 1861, subject to the call of the executive committee, was reconvened at Jefferson City on July 22 to consider what should be done. It was found that about twenty of the ninety-nine members had joined the State Guards and gone into the southern part of the State, among whom was Sterling Price, the president of the convention. The convention was therefore called to order by the vice president, Mr. Robert Wilson, who was thereupon made president in place of Price.

**Provisional
Government
Established**

**1. Second
Session of
the Con-
vention**

¹ Governor Jackson started for Memphis on July 12, 1861.



The convention then proceeded to set up a provisional government for Missouri. It first declared the offices of governor, lieutenant governor, and secretary of state



HAMILTON R. GAMBLE

War Governor of Missouri, 1861-64.

vacant, and then elected Hamilton R. Gamble as governor;¹ Willard P. Hall, lieutenant governor; and Mordecai Oliver, secretary of state. These men were to hold office until November, 1861, when their successors were to be elected. The convention also declared the seats of the members of the legislature vacant, and ordered that an election of members to fill them should also be held in November.²

¹ Hamilton Rowan Gamble was a Virginian by birth. He came to Missouri in 1818, when only 20 years of age, and began the practice of law. He rose very rapidly in this profession and soon became one of the leading lawyers in St. Louis. In 1846 he was elected to the legislature and in 1851 he was elected a member of the supreme court of Missouri by a majority of 40,000, notwithstanding the fact that he was a member of the Whig party, which was far from being a strong party in Missouri at the time. He resigned this position in 1855 and returned to the practice of law. In 1858 he moved to Philadelphia to educate his children, and was still there when the Civil War clouds began to gather. When the Missouri legislature passed an act calling a State convention to consider Missouri's relation to the Union, Gamble came home at once and placed himself squarely against all secession sentiment. He was chairman of the committee of the convention which reported that there was no occasion for Missouri severing her relations with the Union, and when later the convention declared the office of governor vacant he was elected to fill it. The arduous labors of this office literally wore him out, and he died on January 31, 1864.

² The election of these State officers and the members of the legislature was postponed twice, first to August, 1862, and then to August, 1864.



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In addition to these matters, the convention repealed the militia law and the law creating a fund to arm the militia, both of which had been passed by the legislature in May, shortly before adjourning. After adopting an address to the people of Missouri which had been drafted by Governor Gamble, the convention adjourned on July 31 to meet when necessity should require.¹

The action taken by the convention which created the provisional government is highly significant. Strictly speaking, the convention had no legal authority to do what it had just done. It had been elected to determine what Missouri should do with reference to secession, and it had no commission from the people to set up a new State government. As we have seen, Governor Jackson and the legislature were decidedly in favor of secession and were greatly surprised and disappointed when not a single out-and-out secessionist had been elected to the convention. Notwithstanding the stand which the people had taken against secession, the governor and the legislature were conspiring to take Missouri out of the Union. Under these circumstances there was nothing else for those who were opposed to secession to do but to support the provisional government which the convention had established.

But there were many difficult problems which this provisional government had to solve. First of all, there was the question of the regularly elected "Jackson government" which tried to maintain itself for some time, notwithstanding the fact it had been run out of the capital. After the military successes of 1861 at Wilson's Creek (August 10) and at Lexington (September 20), Governor Jackson called the legislature to meet at Neosho on October 21. It seems very evident that only a minority of both houses met in response to this call. But, in spite of that fact, "an act to dissolve the political connection

¹ It should be noted here that these events occurred as the battle of Wilson's Creek (August 10, 1861) was impending.

2. Significance of the Action of the Convention

Problems of the Provisional Government



1. The
"Jackson
Govern-
ment"

between the State of Missouri and the United States of America" was passed by the legislature, and due notification of the passage of the same was sent to the Confederate government.¹ The legislature met again at Cassville for a few days early in November of that year, but after that it never convened again. The turn of military fortune that came to the Federals with the battle of Pea Ridge in March, 1862, forced the "Jackson government" to discontinue its effort to maintain itself.

2. Revenue

Then there was the problem of getting revenue with which to run the provisional government. The treasury was empty, and it was impossible to collect taxes. Owing to the confusion that prevailed throughout the State, as the time set by the convention for the election of State officers and members of the legislature drew near, it was deemed advisable to assemble the convention again. Governor Gamble accordingly issued a call for the convention to meet in St. Louis on October 10, 1861. After passing an ordinance changing the time of holding the above-mentioned election from November, 1861, to August, 1862, the convention took up the problem of finance and decided that the best way to solve it was to economize and to borrow money. Accordingly a great number of offices were abolished, the salaries of all civil officers were reduced twenty per cent, and provisions were made for loans.

3. Militia

The militia was another very serious matter with which the Gamble government had to deal. The State Guards had, of course, followed Jackson and Price, but the convention in its third session held in St. Louis in October, 1861, made provisions for the forming of the loyal State militia, which Governor Gamble immediately organized. As the State was without funds, the Federal government

¹ Governor Jackson had issued a Declaration of Independence while at New Madrid on August 5, 1861, in which he declared that "the political connection between the United States and the people and the governor of Missouri is and ought to be totally dissolved."

furnished this militia with the necessary arms and equipment and to a very large extent directed all its movements and operations. In fact, after it had been settled by the battle of Pea Ridge that Missouri would not be taken out of the Union by force, most of the Federal troops that had been used in Missouri were withdrawn from the State and sent to other fields. Thereafter the burden of the military work done in the State was laid upon the State militia and not upon regular United States soldiers.

But the most difficult questions which the provisional government had to face were, first, that regarding qualifications for suffrage and office-holding, and second, that regarding emancipation, to the consideration of which we must now give some attention.

If the provisional government was to succeed, it was not only necessary to drive out of the State all the military forces that were supporting the "Jackson government," but it was considered equally necessary that all the civil officials in the State should support the provisional government. The State convention, therefore, at its third session held in October, 1861, passed an ordinance providing that every civil officer in the State should pledge himself not to take up arms against either the government of the United States or the provisional government of the State, and not to give aid or comfort to the enemies of either during the war. Failure on the part of any officer to take this oath within sixty days entailed forfeiture of his office. Many officials throughout the State refused to take this oath and were expelled from office, and loyalists were installed in their places. The result was that the provisional government very shortly secured a set of loyal civil officials throughout the State.

But it was felt necessary to go one step farther and insure the regular election of loyal officials by limiting the suffrage to loyalists. To that end the convention in its fourth session, held at Jefferson City in June, 1862, passed an ordinance defining the qualifications of

4. Qualifications for Suffrage and Office-holding

(a) Ordinance of October, 1861

(b) Ordinance of June, 1862



voters and civil officers. This ordinance provided that no person should vote in any election in the State who should not first take an oath that he would support, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States and that of Missouri; that he would bear true faith, loyalty, and allegiance to the United States and would not directly or indirectly give aid, comfort, or countenance to the enemies of the government of the United States or of the provisional government of Missouri; and that he had not since December 17, 1861, willfully taken up arms or levied war against the United States or the provisional government of Missouri. This ordinance also provided that a similar oath should be taken by all persons elected or appointed to civil office in Missouri, and by all jurymen and attorneys, the president, the professors, and the curators of the University of Missouri, all bank officers, common-school teachers and trustees, and licensed and ordained preachers.

It was under this ordinance prescribing the qualification of voters that three elections were held in Missouri, one for members of the legislature in November, 1862,¹ another for members of the legislature and State officials in August, 1864, and another for Presidential electors in November, 1864. It need not be said that only loyalists were elected at these several elections.

5. Emancipation

The problem of emancipation, however, proved the most difficult to solve of all the questions that came before the provisional government. The particular difficulty involved in this problem was due chiefly to the disagreement that arose among the loyalists themselves as to when and how the slaves of Missouri should be freed. But some time before the provisional government took any action in this matter an attempt had been made to

¹ The convention had decided at its fourth session that the election of State officers should be postponed from November, 1862, to August, 1864, thus giving them more than three years of rule under no authority other than election by the convention in July, 1861.



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deal with the question by General Frémont, who had been put in command of the Federal troops in Missouri in July, 1861. Owing to the disorder and turbulence in Missouri following upon the battle of Wilson's Creek, Frémont issued a proclamation ten days after that battle, declaring martial law throughout the State. According to this proclamation all persons found with arms within the lines of the army of occupation that extended from Fort Leavenworth to Cape Girardeau should be shot; the property of all persons within the State who should take up arms against the United States or who should take an active part with its enemies in the field should be confiscated; and furthermore, the slaves of such persons, if they should have any, should be declared free.

(a) Frémont's
Proclama-
tion

The confiscating and manumitting portion of this proclamation occasioned considerable excitement throughout the State, and this was greatly increased when Frémont freed two slaves belonging to Colonel Snead, Price's chief of staff.¹ The proclamation was at once disapproved by Lincoln as being without warrant of law and was shortly modified by him so as to bring it within the limits of the law.

During the winter of 1861-62 Lincoln began to advocate "compensated abolishment" of slavery in the border states. His plan was to pay the loyal slaveholders of the border states for their slaves before emancipating by force the slaves in the seceding states, and he contemplated putting this scheme into operation first in Missouri. Accordingly in December, 1862, a bill was introduced into the United States Senate by Senator Henderson of Missouri providing for \$20,000,000 to pay for the slaves of the loyal owners in Missouri, and a similar bill was introduced into the House. The House bill, however, provided for only \$10,000,000 instead of \$20,000,000. Both bills were passed by the houses into which they had

(b) Lincoln's
Scheme of
"Compen-
sated Abol-
ishment"

¹ It is not known whether any other slaves were freed under this proclamation or not.



been introduced, but owing to the difference between the two in the amount appropriated, it was necessary to compromise the matter. The Senate agreed to \$15,000,000 as the compromise amount, but the House would not allow the bill with that amount to come to a vote. Thus ended the attempt in Congress to compensate the loyal slave owners for their slaves.

(c) Fourth
Session of the
Convention

An attempt was made during the fourth session of the State convention held in June, 1862, to pass an ordinance submitting to the people certain amendments to the constitution and also a scheme for the gradual emancipation of slaves in the State; but the ordinance failed to pass the convention by a very decided vote of 52 to 19.

At the election held in November, 1862, for members of the legislature, most of those elected were in favor of emancipation. But they could do nothing on that subject, however, because of the constitutional provision which forbade the emancipation of slaves in the State without the consent of the owners or the payment of a full equivalent for the slaves so freed. As there was no money in the State treasury, emancipation by compensation could not be undertaken by the legislature.

(d) Ordi-
nance for
Gradual
Emancipa-
tion

But as the people were evidently in favor of emancipating the slaves of the State, Governor Gamble ventured to call the convention together again at Jefferson City in June, 1863. This proved to be its final session. In his proclamation convening the convention Governor Gamble said that the subject of emancipation had for some time engaged the public mind and that it was of the highest importance to the interests of the State that some scheme of emancipation should be adopted. He also said that the legislature at its last session had been unable to deal with the matter because of constitutional limitations, and had indicated that the convention should be called together again for the express purpose of considering emancipation. In due time the convention passed an ordinance providing that "slavery and involuntary servi-



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tude except for the punishment of crime should cease to exist in Missouri on July 4, 1870, and that all slaves within the State on that date should be declared free."¹

This program of gradual emancipation was by no means satisfactory to all the Union men in Missouri. By this time there had arisen two factions among the Union men — the Conservatives and the Radicals.² The former advocated gradual emancipation and the latter immediate emancipation; the former believed that the slaves on receiving their freedom should be kept under the control of their former masters until they could learn to take care of themselves, while the latter favored the abolition of slavery without any conditions whatsoever. The scheme of emancipation which the convention adopted was supported only by the Conservatives; to the Radicals it was a dilatory and half-hearted measure and was bitterly opposed by them.

The Radicals now undertook to bring about "an organized protest against the whole Conservative rule of the State and the Federal policy which supports it." To that end a mass meeting was called to meet at Jefferson City on September 2. Delegates came from four fifths of the counties of the State. A series of resolutions was adopted, one of which arraigned the provisional government as being untrue to the people of the State.

¹ Provision was made that all persons emancipated by this ordinance should remain under the control of their owners as servants during a certain specified period.

² These two parties at first were called "Claybanks" and "Charcoals." The "Claybanks" originally were those who had opposed Frémont's radical policy while in command of the Department of Missouri; the "Charcoals" favored extreme measures to crush out the rebellion and advocated immediate emancipation of all slaves by proclamation of the President. All Republicans had previously been christened "Black Republicans" by their opponents because of their sympathy with the negroes and their opposition to slavery. The "Charcoals" were so called because they were the blackest of the black.

**Lincoln and
the Radicals
of Missouri**

**1. Rise of
Conserva-
tives and
Radicals**

**2. Meeting
of Radicals
at Jefferson
City**



The chief counts in the indictment thus brought against the Gamble government were: "The use of the forces of the State to maintain slavery; the disarmament of loyalists and the establishment of the enrolled militia, many of whom were characterized as known and avowed disloyalists;¹ and a refusal to cooperate with the general government particularly in the execution of orders levying assessments against disloyalists." The meeting then decided to send a committee of seventy to Washington to lay their grievances before Lincoln and to procure a change in the governmental policy in reference to Missouri.

Radical
delegation
before
Lincoln

On September 30, 1863, Lincoln received this committee of seventy in the White House. For a full half hour Mr. Drake, chairman of the committee, read slowly and impressively the address which had been drafted. The origin and development of the antagonism between the Gamble administration and the Radical Union men of Missouri was reviewed at length. Gamble was charged with the intention of preserving slavery in Missouri, while the Radicals desired and demanded the election of a new convention for the purpose of immediately ridding the State of slavery. Lincoln's emancipation proclamation of January 1, 1863, which freed the slaves in those states which were in rebellion,² was cordially approved, and the question was raised as to "why the people of

¹ There were two bodies of soldiers known as the Missouri Militia. These were designated as the Missouri State Militia and the Enrolled Missouri Militia. The first was composed of volunteer troops enlisted in the service of the United States and supported by it. They were maintained exclusively for the protection of the State. The other was organized by order of the governor and was controlled by him exclusively and at no time was it subject to the orders of the United States.

² This emancipation proclamation did not affect the border states, such as Missouri, Kentucky, Maryland, and Delaware, nor did it affect Tennessee and parts of Louisiana and Virginia, inasmuch as they were not in a state of rebellion at that time.

Missouri should not from the same sense of duty strike down with equal suddenness the traitorous and formidable institution in their midst." The address closed with a very impressive appeal to the President for action in behalf of the Radicals in Missouri. "We ask only justice and protection for our suffering people. If they are to suffer hereafter and now, as in times past, the world will remember that they are not responsible for the gloomy page in Missouri's history."

For more than two and a half hours Lincoln discussed the matters presented in this address. He was aware of the fact that the delegation before him was voicing not only the opinion of the Radicals of Missouri, but also the demands of the radical anti-slavery elements of the whole country, that he should extend his emancipation proclamation so as to cover slavery everywhere and that he should use negro troops against the Confederate army. The Missourians, too, appreciated the national significance of their mission. On their way to Washington they had been enthusiastically entertained at several different places and had been urged to stand firm on their platform that slavery should be abolished immediately in the border states without compensation.

Five days after this conference Lincoln sent his reply to the committee. No keener or saner analysis of the situation as it existed in Missouri has ever been given. After reviewing the demands that the Missourians had made of him, he began his reply with these words:

4. Lincoln's
Reply

"We are in civil war. In such case there is always a main question, but in this case that question is a perplexing compound — Union and Slavery. It thus becomes a question not of two sides merely, but of at least four sides, even among those who are for the Union, saying nothing of those who are against it. Thus, those who are for the Union but not without slavery; those for it without but not with; those for it with or without but prefer it with; those for it with or without but prefer



it without ; among these again is a subdivision of those who are for gradual but not immediate, and those who are for immediate, but not for gradual, extinction of slavery."

On coming to the demands made by the Missourians, he declined to remove General Schofield or to attempt the destruction of the enrolled militia, but he ordered Schofield to render the requested assistance in the forthcoming elections. In conclusion he said :

"The Radicals and Conservatives each agree with me in some things and disagree in others. I could wish both to agree with me in all things ; for then they would agree with each other and would be too strong for any foe from any quarter. They, however, choose to do otherwise and I do not question their rights. I hold whoever commands in Missouri or elsewhere responsible to me and not to either Radicals or Conservatives. It is my duty to hear all ; but, at last, I must, within my sphere, judge what to do and what to forbear."

Although Lincoln declined the most important demands made by the Radicals, his sympathies were with them. "They are nearer to me than the other side in thought and sentiment," he said later, "though bitterly hostile personally. They are the unhandiest fellows in the world to deal with, but after all their faces are set Zionwards."

Attempt
of the
radicals to
defeat
Lincoln

That the Radicals of Missouri were not pleased with Lincoln's policy regarding the State is seen in the efforts they made to defeat his renomination in 1864. They joined with the Radicals of other states who felt that he had not been aggressive enough, and sent delegates to a convention held at Cleveland in May, 1864, which nominated Frémont for President. After Frémont withdrew from the race, they sent a delegation to the regular Republican convention held at Baltimore under the name of "The National Union Convention." The Conservatives of Missouri also sent a rival delegation to this convention, but after considerable wrangling the Radicals



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were seated and cast their votes for Grant for President. As all the other delegates had cast their votes for Lincoln, the Missouri delegation changed their votes to him and this made the nomination unanimous. But they had the satisfaction of registering their disapproval of Lincoln by voting first for Grant. The following November, however, Lincoln carried the State by 40,000.¹

At the same time that Lincoln carried Missouri by so large a majority, the Radicals elected their entire State ticket with the same majority, with Thomas C. Fletcher at the head as governor.² They also carried the proposition to hold a State constitutional convention which was authorized to consider such constitutional amendments as were necessary to abolish slavery and would guarantee only to loyal citizens the right to vote. It was generally understood that the first duty of this convention would be to pass an ordinance freeing the slaves in the State immediately.

This constitutional convention assembled in St. Louis on January 6, 1865, and continued in session until April 10. It was composed of sixty-six members, three fourths of whom were Radicals. It turned at once to the question of emancipation, and on January 11, five days after it had convened, an ordinance abolishing slavery in Missouri immediately and without compensation was passed by a vote of 60 to 4.³ Thus Missouri by her own independent action abolished slavery within her borders before the thirteenth amendment of the national Constitution abolishing it everywhere in the United

**Ordinance
for Imme-
diate Eman-
cipation in
Missouri**

¹ Lincoln 71,676; McClellan 31,626.

² The death of Gamble in January, 1864, weakened the strength of the Conservatives considerably. He had offered his resignation as governor to the convention in July, 1863, but was induced to withdraw it.

³ On the reception of the news at Jefferson City of the passage of this emancipation ordinance, the legislature, which was then in session at Jefferson City, held a jubilee celebration in honor of the event, the chief feature of which was a speech by Governor Fletcher.

States was adopted. That amendment was not adopted by the necessary number of states to put it into force until December, 1865.

With the passage of this emancipation ordinance, the second great political issue that arose in Missouri during the war was disposed of. The first issue had been that of Missouri's relation to the Union. That was settled early in the war in favor of the Union. The second issue had been that of emancipation. That was not settled until near the close of the war. Meanwhile, a third issue had arisen, that of suffrage, and remained as a heritage from the war to trouble the political peace of the State long after military hostilities had ceased. The history of that issue will occupy our attention in the next chapter.

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CHAPTER XX

THE RULE OF THE RADICAL PARTY IN MISSOURI

[*Historical Setting.* — The Reconstruction of the Southern States.]

IN the preceding chapter we saw that the constitutional convention of 1865, after passing an emancipation ordinance, turned to the question of suffrage.

Very few of the 66 delegates who composed this convention were very widely known throughout the State and "most of them went back into immediate obscurity when the convention terminated." The leader of this convention was Charles D. Drake. His political career had been that of a "turncoat," having been first a Whig, then a Know-nothing, and then a Democrat. By 1865 he had come to be the leader of the Radical party, and through that leadership he dominated the convention of 1865 as perhaps no other man in Missouri has ever dominated any assembly or convention. In fact, so clear was his leadership and influence that the constitution which this convention drew up has generally been spoken of as the "Drake Constitution," especially by his opponents.¹



CHARLES D. DRAKE

Leader of the Radicals in Missouri and author of the "Drake Constitution."

1. Leadership of Drake in the Convention of 1865

¹ Because of Drake's leading part in framing this constitution and because of the many severities of certain of its sections, it re-



2. Debates
on Suffrage

The debates on the question of suffrage were very prolonged and bitter. No other subject occupied so much of the time and attention of the convention and no other aroused such antagonism. The issue was whether or not those who were counted as rebels should have the right to vote. It will be recalled that they had been disfranchised by the State convention in 1862. Many of the delegates in the convention of 1865 were in favor of removing this restriction on suffrage, partially at least, but the majority were determined to make it all the more difficult for those who had been in the least tainted with disloyalty to vote. Probably the circumstances under which the delegates to this convention had been elected had something to do with their attitude on the question of suffrage. At that time Price was just closing his famous raid of 1864, and many of the delegates doubtless came to the convention with their minds bent upon revenge toward all rebels and their sympathizers. No doubt they also wanted to insure their hold upon the government of the State. That they satisfied themselves in this matter is seen from the section which sets forth the list of those who were disqualified from voting. So sweeping in its restrictions is this section that we give it here in full:

3. Disquali-
fications for
Voting

Section 3. At any election held by the people under this Constitution, or in pursuance of any law of this State, or under any ordinance or by-law of any municipal corporation, no person shall be deemed a qualified voter who has ever been in armed hostility to the United States, or to the lawful authorities thereof, or to the Government of this State; or has ever given aid, comfort, countenance, or support to persons engaged in any such hostility; or has ever, in any manner, adhered to the enemies, foreign or domestic, of the United States, either by contributing to them, or by unlawfully sending within their lines money, goods, letters, or information; or has ever disloyally held communication with such enemies; or has

minged many people of the laws of Draco of ancient Greece, which were noted for the heavy penalties that were levied for their violation. For these reasons the constitution of 1865 was frequently called the "Draconian Code."



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ever advised or aided any person to enter the service of such enemies ; or has ever, by act or word, manifested his adherence to the cause of such enemies, or his desire for their triumph over the arms of the United States, or his sympathy with those engaged in exciting or carrying on rebellion against the United States ; or has ever, except under overpowering compulsion, submitted to the authority, or been in the service of the so-called "Confederate States of America ;" or has ever left this State and gone within the lines of the armies of the so-called "Confederate States of America," with the purpose of adhering to said states or armies ; or has ever been a member of, or connected with, any order, society, or organization inimical to the government of the United States, or to the government of this State ; or has ever been engaged in guerrilla warfare against loyal inhabitants of the United States, or in that description of marauding commonly known as "bushwhacking ;" or has ever knowingly and willingly harbored, aided or countenanced any person so engaged ; or has ever come into or left this State for the purpose of avoiding enrollment for or draft into the military service of the United States ; or has ever, with a view to avoid enrollment in the militia of this State, or to escape the performance of duty therein, or for any other purpose, enrolled himself, or authorized himself to be enrolled, by or before any officer, as disloyal, or as a Southern sympathizer, or in any other terms indicating his disaffection to the government of the United States in its contest with rebellion, or his sympathy with those engaged in such rebellion ; or, having ever voted at any election by the people in this State, or in any other of the United States, or in any of their territories, or under the United States, shall thereafter have sought or received, under claim of alienage, the protection of any foreign government, through any consul or other officer thereof, in order to secure exemption from military duty in the militia of this State, or in the army of the United States ; nor shall any such person be capable of holding, in this State, any office of honor, trust, or profit under its authority ; or of being an officer, councilman, director, trustee, or other manager of any corporation, public or private, now existing, or hereafter established by its authority ; or of acting as a professor or teacher in any educational institution, or in any common or other school ; or of holding any real estate or other property in trust for the use of any church, religious society or congregation. But the foregoing provisions in relation to acts done against the United States shall not apply to any person not a citizen thereof, who shall have committed such acts while in the service of some foreign country at war with the United States, and who has, since such acts, been naturalized, or may hereafter be naturalized, under the laws of the United States ; and the oath of loyalty hereinafter



prescribed, when taken by any such person, shall be considered as taken in such sense.

It will be noticed that the words "who has ever" recur in each of the clauses enumerating those who were disqualified from voting. An attempt was made in the convention to amend this section so as to substitute for the word "ever" the words "since the 17th of December, 1861."¹ It was pointed out by those who supported this amendment that an amnesty had been granted in 1861 by Governor Gamble and the convention to all who had taken up arms against the government at the call of Governor Jackson, who would voluntarily return to their peaceful pursuits by December 17, 1861, and take an oath of allegiance to the government, and that the words "who has ever" in the proposed section on suffrage violated that amnesty. But the amendment failed to carry, and the section as adopted contained the ominous words "who has ever."

disquali-
cations
of the
professions

Not only were these elaborate disqualifications for voting provided, but in another section the religious, charitable, social, and business relations of the people were invaded, and a provision was made for an "expurgatorial oath" for ministers of the gospel, attorneys, and teachers. Under that section no person was permitted to practice law or be competent as a preacher, priest, deacon, minister, or clergyman of any religious persuasion, sect, or denomination to teach or preach or solemnize marriages unless such person should have first taken, subscribed, and filed the prescribed oath of loyalty. So comprehensive and so detailed was the test oath that was required of those who sought to vote or to practice the above-mentioned professions that it was known as the "Ironclad Oath."

For this sweeping system of disfranchisement and test

¹ The disfranchising ordinance of 1862 contained the phrase "since December 17, 1861."



oaths the Radical party of 1865 has been roundly condemned from that time to this by many fair-minded men. In defense of this party, however, it has been pointed out that a similar system was inaugurated by the convention in 1862, and that the records of the convention show that the ordinance which it passed providing for disfranchisement and oaths of loyalty was "introduced, supported, and voted for by Democrats." But even admitting all that, we are forced to say that the system of 1862 was by no means as drastic and sweeping as that of 1865. And furthermore, when we note the spirit in which the latter was framed and enforced, we are compelled to conclude that there are sufficient grounds for condemning the Radicals for the extreme measures they took. More light will be thrown upon the operation of the system as we proceed in this chapter.¹

It was evident very soon after the convention assembled that instead of amending the existing constitution, which had been framed and adopted in 1820, it would draft an entirely new instrument. There is some doubt as to whether the convention had any authority to frame a new constitution, and some of the members expressed themselves accordingly when it was apparent what was on foot. But the majority ignored the protests of the minority and pushed their program through. The new constitution was finally adopted by the convention by a vote of 38 to 13, and the convention adjourned on April 10, 1865. Provision was made for submitting the new constitution to the people on June 6, 1865, but only those who could take the oath of loyalty prescribed by the constitution itself were allowed to vote upon its adoption.

**Adoption of
the Consti-
tution of
1865**

The campaign that was held for its adoption was "the most unusual in the history of the State." It was bitter

¹ At least one third of the people were deprived of the right to vote because of these test oaths, and undoubtedly a great many more would have been deprived of suffrage if they had sworn strictly to the truth when they came to take the test oath.

from beginning to end. Of course those who were disfranchised were opposed to the new constitution, but the surprising feature in the campaign was the bitter opposition within the ranks of those who had the right to vote upon it. Not all the Radicals themselves were for the constitution, but after the first few weeks of the campaign, the Radicals who opposed it were whipped into line. The constitution was adopted by a majority of less than 2000, the vote standing 43,670 for and 41,808 against.¹

The chief support for the constitution came from the outlying counties of the State, especially those in the northwestern and southwestern parts, rather than from St. Louis or the Missouri River counties.² In fact, the vote in St. Louis and in the Missouri River counties was overwhelmingly against adoption, and from the early returns it looked as though the constitution would be defeated. Even after the returns from the border counties gave a kind of reassuring effect, it was not until the soldier vote came in that a majority for the constitution was assured. Had the opposition been as vigorously organized as those who favored the constitution, it would not have been adopted. On receiving the complete returns Governor Fletcher declared that the constitution would go into effect on July 4, 1865.

**The
Ousting
Ordinance**

Between the adoption of the constitution by a vote of the people and the time it went into effect, an event of great significance in connection with the establishment of the Radical rule in Missouri occurred, namely, the removal of the judges of the supreme court of the State through

¹ The total vote on the constitution was 85,478, which was about 55,000 less than that cast in the preceding November on the question as to whether the convention should be held or not.

² It will be recalled that St. Louis and the Missouri River counties were the chief strongholds of the old line Whig party before the war. As a matter of fact, the chief opponents to the constitution of 1865 were those who had been old line Whigs.

the enforcement of the so-called "Ousting Ordinance." This ordinance, which had been passed by the constitutional convention on March 17, provided that the offices of the judges and the clerks of the supreme court and of all the circuit courts of the State, and also certain county offices, such as recorders, circuit attorneys, and sheriffs, should be vacated. It also gave the governor authority to fill all these places with his own appointees. Like the ordinance which this same convention had passed abolishing slavery, this one was not to be submitted to the people for adoption or rejection, but was to be put into effect by May first. The justification that was offered for this wholesale removal of officials was that only those who were known to be loyal men should be allowed to hold office; but that was evidently only a pretext. Governor Hall had assured the legislature in his message the preceding December that all the civil offices of the State were then filled with men of avowed loyalty, and most of these men were still in office when the "Ousting Ordinance" was passed. But there were grave doubts, however, as to whether the supreme court would support the acts of the convention, including the ordinance abolishing slavery, and it was felt absolutely necessary to insure against an adverse decision by that body. Hence it was decided to remove the judges of the supreme court and to appoint new members; and to cover up the design in doing this, a great host of other officials, numbering about 1000 in all, were likewise to be turned out of doors at the same time. Although the ordinance provided that it should be enforced on May first, it was not until June 14 that it was applied to the supreme court. One of the three judges, Judge Bates, had resigned in advance of the attempt to enforce the ordinance, but the other two, Judges Bay and Dryden, refused to vacate until they were forcibly ejected. Governor Fletcher thereupon appointed David Wagoner, Nathaniel Holmes, and W. L. Lovelace to the bench.



ical
in
Missouri

With the supreme court thus molded to suit their notion and with the adoption of the new constitution, the Radicals were placed in a position where they might successfully control the political affairs of the State for a long period of time. As a matter of fact, however, they maintained themselves for only five years. What they did during that time and what brought about their overthrow will now engage our attention.

Enforce-
ment of
'Test
' upon
profes-
sions

The first efforts of the Radicals after the constitution went into effect were directed toward enforcing the test oath upon the professional classes, that is, ministers, teachers, and lawyers. The constitution provided that it was necessary for these to take this test oath within sixty days after the ratification of the constitution. Probably no section in the whole constitution was more detested than this one regarding the professional classes, and from the very beginning it was evident that its enforcement would be stoutly resisted. Perhaps the greatest resistance came from the ministers, and many of them continued preaching and performing the duties of their office without taking the oath. Numerous indictments were filed against such ministers, some of whom were put into jail. Finally the case of Reverend Father Cummings, a Catholic priest in the town of Louisiana, was taken into the Supreme Court of the United States; and that section of the constitution prescribing an oath for the professional classes was declared unconstitutional.¹ It should be noted, however, that the decision was not on the constitutionality of the oath itself, but on the question whether conditions might be laid down for the practice

¹ Cummings was convicted in the circuit court on the charge of having preached and taught without taking the oath and was sentenced to pay a fine of \$500 and be committed to jail until the fine and costs were paid. The supreme court of Missouri sustained the decision of the circuit court. The Supreme Court of the United States, however, declared the law unconstitutional and thus freed him. This decision was handed down on January 14, 1867.

of a profession. The court held that the requirement of an oath of the professional classes was in violation of that provision of the Federal Constitution which prohibits any state from enacting bills of attainder and *ex post facto* laws, and was therefore null and void. The Radicals were no doubt relieved at having this section concerning the oath declared unconstitutional, so great had the dissatisfaction over it become.¹

As a means of eliminating from the electorate all the more effectively those who were suspected of disloyalty, the constitution of 1865 authorized the legislature to provide for a complete and uniform registration by districts of the names of the qualified voters of the State. Acting upon that authority, the legislature passed a registry law in 1866, according to which the State was divided into small electoral districts, and over each of these was placed a superintendent of registration elected by the people of that district.² Two years later a more stringent registry law was passed, which provided, among other things, that the superintendents of registration were to be appointed by the governor rather than elected by the people. The explanation that was offered by the Radicals for this change was that so long as the superintendents were elected, it was impossible to get efficient and uniform administration of the registry laws, especially since the Conservatives were threatening to defy these laws. There was much truth in that explanation. If the people in a given district were inclined to be indifferent and tolerant about the matter of registration and suffrage, they would elect a superintendent who would take their view of the matter. In fact, there were several instances of just that sort of thing,

2. Registry
Acts of
1866 and
1868

¹ In 1870, however, the United States Court decided in the *Blair vs. Ridgely* case that the test oath for the purpose of suffrage was constitutional.

² The passage of this registry act was regarded at the time as "a triumph second only to the adoption of the new constitution."



and indeed in some of the districts Democrats were elected as superintendents of registration. In order, therefore, to check this tendency which threatened Radical control, the registry law of 1868 was passed. With the passage of this act the highwater mark of extreme Radical legislation was reached.

The enforcement of this law gave occasion to much complaint and to a great many charges of oppression and dishonesty at the hands of the new superintendents of registration. In some of the districts the registration was quietly done and seemed fairly satisfactory to those who were eligible under the law to register. This was particularly true in St. Louis. But in other parts of the State, especially in the old Whig counties along the Missouri River, there was a great deal of dissatisfaction. In Boone County, for example, it was claimed that 3000 men, including many Union men, were refused registration. It is not possible to find out how many men were not allowed to register, but the Democratic papers of the time claimed that more than 20,000 men who applied for registration, answered all the questions, and took the oath of loyalty, were not allowed to vote at the next election.

Radical
processes
1866
1868

With such effective electoral machinery established and under complete control, it is no wonder the Radicals were successful in the elections of 1866 and 1868. But the "election of 1868 marks the high tide of their success." In the election of 1870 they were overthrown and were destined never to recover from the political disaster that overtook them. How they lost their power, notwithstanding the seemingly almost impregnable position in which they had fortified themselves, is worthy of note.

position
the
Radicals in
1866 and
1868

All during the time the Radicals were in power they had to confront a very active opposition. The constitution of 1865 had no sooner been adopted than there arose protests against its "iniquities," and an agitation was begun in favor of amending at least the test oath sections. Even some of the Radicals mildly advocated certain



immediate amendments, but the real agitation was carried on by two other parties, the Conservative Unionists and the Democrats.

The Conservative Unionist party was definitely organized in Missouri early in 1866 — chiefly under the leadership of Frank P. Blair.¹ The Democratic party was being brought together in a fashion under such men as Lewis Bogy and John S. Phelps, the latter having served in the Union army. As both of these parties realized that it would be futile to act apart in their opposition to the Radicals, the Democrats were induced to support the Conservative Unionists in the campaign of 1866. But notwithstanding this political combination the Radicals won the day, easily electing seven out of the nine Congressmen and carrying the legislature two to one.

1. Conserv-
ative
Unionists,
1866

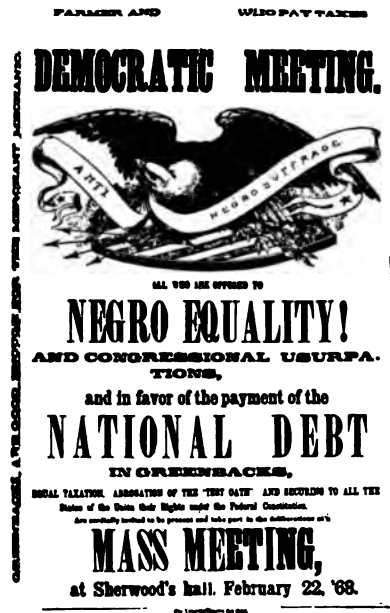
The success of the Radicals in these elections was due largely to the manner in which the first registry act was carried out, mention of which has already been made. It is rather significant that in the spring municipal elections which occurred in the State before the registry act was passed, the Radicals met with numerous reverses. Local issues were practically forgotten in these elections, the campaign in each municipality having been waged over State issues. But by the time the fall elections were held the registry act had been put on the statute book, and this explains why the Radical reverses of the spring were not repeated in the fall.

From the defeat which the Conservative Unionist party suffered in 1866 it never recovered, and by the time the campaign of 1868 occurred its place as a party in opposition to the Radicals had been taken by the Democrats, who had meanwhile been well reorganized and had entered the political field with their own candidates. The success which the Democrats had had in electing a Congressman

2. Demo-
crats, 1868

¹ On national issues the Conservative Unionists of Missouri supported President Johnson in his contest with Congress over the question of reconstruction in the South.

from Missouri in 1867 to fill an unexpired term, together with the success which had attended their party in other states in that year, spurred the Missouri Democrats to special efforts to win the State in 1868. To their support



FACSIMILE OF A POSTER USED IN THE
CAMPAIGN OF 1868

Reduced in size. Note the protest against granting suffrage to the negro in Missouri. From a copy of the original owned by F. M. Harrington, Kirksville, Missouri.

men and also a majority of the members of the legislature.

Defeat
of the Negro
suffrage
amendment

The surprising feature of the election of 1868 was the defeat of the State constitutional amendment enfranchising the negro in Missouri. This amendment was submitted by the legislature, but it was defeated by the

¹ Frank P. Blair was Seymour's running mate for Vice President, but he was not able to swing Missouri away from Grant.

came a great many of the Conservative Unionists and the old line Whigs. But they were not yet strong enough to overcome the Radicals, especially since the latter had been able to add to the strength of their political defense through the new registry act of 1868. McClurg, the Radical candidate for governor, was elected over Phelps by a majority of more than 19,000, and Grant carried the State over Seymour in the Presidential race by a majority of more than 25,000.¹ The Radicals also elected six of the nine Congress-



people by more than 19,000 votes, the opposition coming from the Democrats, who voted solidly against it, and from a goodly number of Republicans also. The question of enfranchising the negroes had been an important issue in the State ever since they had been freed in 1865, but it was not submitted to the people in the form of a constitutional amendment more than once. Before it could be submitted again, the fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which conferred suffrage upon the negro practically everywhere in the country, was ratified and put into force, and thus the issue was settled without any further contest in the State.

The downfall of the Radicals in 1870 after their signal successes in 1866 and 1868 was due to a split which took place in their own ranks. As we have already seen, there were from the very first some in the Radical party who advocated a change in its policy. But party discipline kept the liberal element under control until 1870, when it felt compelled to withdraw from the party and consolidate about itself all the opposing forces. The leader of the seceding Liberals in 1870 was Carl Schurz. He had come to St. Louis in 1867 to take a place on the staff of the *Westliche Post*, and because of the influence which he came to have with the Germans throughout the State, he was soon able to take high rank in the Radical party in Missouri. In 1869 he was elected to the United States Senate from Missouri.¹

**Downfall of
the Radicals,
1870**

The issue on which the Radical party split was that of removing the restrictions of the constitution on the right of suffrage. The legislature had responded to the pressure that was coming from all parts of the State and had submitted to the people in 1870 a series of constitutional amendments removing all disqualifications from

**1. Schism
in the Rad-
ical Party
over
Suffrage**

¹ Other men had a prominent part in the formation of the Liberal party in Missouri, among whom were Edward Grosvenor, editor of the *Missouri Democrat*, and Joseph Pulitzer, editor of the *St. Louis Dispatch*.

the disfranchised people of the State, and it was therefore necessary for the Radicals to declare whether they were for or against the adoption of these amendments. When, therefore, the Radical state convention met in Jefferson City in August, a desperate effort was made to get it to indorse the amendments. The struggle came up over the adoption of the report of the resolutions committee. That report was divided. On the matter of suffrage the majority report declared: "That the Republican party stands pledged to remove all disqualifications and restrictions imposed upon the late rebels in the same measure as the spirit of disloyalty may die out and as may be consistent with the safety of the loyal people; that we consider the time to have come and that we cordially indorse the action of the legislature of Missouri in submitting to the qualified voters of the State the amendment removing all disqualifications from the disfranchised people of Missouri and conferring equal political rights and privileges on all classes, and we earnestly recommend them to the people for their approval and adoption." On the other hand, the minority report declared: "That we are in favor of reënfrenchising those justly disfranchised for participating in the late rebellion as soon as it can be done with safety to the State; and that we concur in the propriety of the legislature having submitted to the whole people of the State the question as to whether such time has now arrived, upon which question we recognize the right of any member of the party to vote his honest convictions."

At first glimpse there seems to be no difference between the two reports. But a close analysis shows that the minority report, while not openly opposing the amendments, "evaded the issue by virtually repeating the promise of enfranchisement at some later time"; and that the majority report demanded reënfrenchisement immediately. When, therefore, by a vote of 439 to 342, the minority report was adopted by the convention, 250 delegates who favored the majority report withdrew from



it under the leadership of Schurz and nominated a Liberal Republican ticket of their own with B. Gratz Brown as their candidate for governor.¹ The Radicals renominated McClurg for governor.

In the campaign that followed, the Democrats gave the Liberals their hearty support as far as the State ticket was concerned. For Congress and the legislature they nominated practically a full ticket in every district in the State. The result of the election justified their policy. Brown was elected governor over McClurg by a majority of nearly 42,000, but the Democrats elected five Congressmen, the Radicals winning only three and the Liberals two. The legislature was won by the Democrats and Liberals. But more important than these political successes was the adoption of several constitutional amendments, the one abolishing the test oath being carried by a vote of 127,000 to 16,000.² From this vote it will appear that the majority of the

2. Alliance between Democrats and Liberals



B. GRATZ BROWN
Liberal Republican Governor of
Missouri, 1870-72.

¹ B. Gratz Brown was born in Kentucky in 1826. He came to St. Louis in 1849 and began the practice of law. He was a member of the State legislature from 1852 to 1859 and was looked upon as the leader of the Benton men and of the anti-slavery movement in Missouri from 1854 to 1859. Brown was strongly opposed to secession at the beginning of the war and joined the Republican party in 1861. He was in command of a regiment of troops when Camp Jackson was taken and later commanded a brigade in the Federal army. He was a member of the United States Senate from 1863 to 1867. In 1864 he used all the influence he could command to get an emancipation ordinance passed. He was elected governor of Missouri in 1870.

² The constitution itself authorized the legislature to suspend or repeal any part of the sections dealing with the test oath after

Radicals voted for the amendment. Inasmuch as the negro had been enfranchised through the ratification of the fifteenth Amendment of the National Constitution, to continue to deprive the Confederate whites of the use of the ballot seemed unnecessary. Undoubtedly the Radicals counted on the new negro vote offsetting that of the reënf franchised whites, but if they did, they were doomed to disappointment. With the abolishing of the test oath the bulwark behind which the Radicals had entrenched themselves was removed, and they were never able to come back again into power.

3. Passing
of Drake
from
Missouri
Politics

With the defeat of the Radicals in 1870 their most prominent leader, Drake, passes from the stage as an actor in the public affairs of the State. In recognition of his services and leadership he had been elected to the United States Senate in 1867, but he resigned his seat in that body in 1871 and accepted the appointment of Chief Justice of the United States Court of Claims.¹ In all probability no other political leader ever left Missouri politics with greater unpopularity than did Drake.

Significance
of Radical
Rule in
Missouri

The passing of Drake was "coincident with the end of the era of eight years in which the Radical party had been in control in Missouri. Under its rule the State had seen the war brought to a successful conclusion, the system of slavery forever abolished, and the new economic and social problems dealt with. There is no question but that Missouri from 1865 to 1870 grew and prospered. "But Radical rule, perhaps beneficial in the beginning, had become reactionary and unpopular. Reputed corruption in high places, failure to keep abreast with the times, and a tendency to depend too much upon mere political machinery had alienated finally a considerable portion of the Republican organization. The Radicals had failed to

January 1, 1871, but the legislature preferred to have this matter settled by direct vote of the people in advance of that date.

¹ Frank P. Blair was elected to fill Drake's unexpired term in the Senate. This was his last office, as he died in 1875.



recognize that the war was over and that new issues were forging to the front. Their failure and final defeat was to be expected and was in every sense justified."

REFERENCES

Carr, *Missouri*, ch. xviii. Switzler, "Constitutional Conventions of Missouri," 1865-75, in the *Missouri Historical Review*, January, 1907, pp. 108-119. The only real authority on the subject dealt with in this chapter is a dissertation by Thomas S. Barclay on *The Origin of the Liberal Republican Movement in Missouri*, which he recently presented to the Political Science Department of the University of Missouri in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the A.M. degree. This dissertation has been used very extensively by the author of this book in writing this chapter. As it has never been published, it is not available for general use. Mr. Barclay, however, will publish some articles in the *Missouri Historical Review* for July and October, 1918, in which he will present the main conclusions that he has reached in his studies on the subject.



CHAPTER XXI

THE RETURN OF THE DEMOCRATS TO POWER IN MISSOURI

[*Historical Setting.* — The Presidential Election of 1872.]

THE Liberal Republican party in Missouri had been born out of the schism that had arisen in the ranks of the Radicals, or Republicans, in 1870. Many thought that the split was but temporary and that the Liberals would all come back into the regular Republican party in the next campaign, but in this they were disappointed. Ultimately the Liberal Republican party disappeared, but its members became divided between the Democratic and the Republican parties, most of them going into the Democratic party. How things developed along these lines we shall now see.

Campaign of 1872

1. Coalition between the Liberal Republicans and the Democrats

As the campaign of 1872 drew near, the leaders of the Liberal Republicans and of the Democrats decided to renew their alliance of 1870. It was therefore arranged to hold the State conventions of these two parties at Jefferson City at the same time. They convened there on August 21, 1872, occupying two different chambers in the capitol. The conventions through conference committees kept each other informed of their proceedings. By means of these committees it was arranged that the Democrats should nominate one of the two Presidential electors at large, six of the thirteen district electors, the governor, the treasurer, the auditor, the attorney general, and the four judges of the supreme court; and that the Liberal Republicans should nominate the other Presidential elector at large, seven district electors, the lieutenant governor, the secretary of state and the registrar

of lands. Accordingly each convention in separate session made the nominations allotted to it, and afterward the whole ticket was ratified by a joint session of the two conventions amidst a great deal of excitement and enthusiasm. Under these arrangements Silas Woodson was nominated by the Democrats for governor, and Charles P. Johnson was nominated by the Liberal Republicans for lieutenant governor.

Meanwhile the Liberal Republican movement had spread from Missouri into other states and had assumed national form. It began to take this form at a gathering of the Liberal Republicans of Missouri at Jefferson City on January 24, 1872, at which nearly all of the counties of the State were represented. Here it was decided to call a meeting at Cincinnati on May first, to which were invited all persons who were dissatisfied with Grant's administration, especially with the way in which it had been handling the Southern problems.

This convention at Cincinnati was in reality nothing more than a mass meeting. "Except in a few places the Liberal Republicans had no organization and the members of the convention were all volunteers." It was found, therefore, that some states had but a small number of representatives present, while others had a very large number. The question of membership in the convention proved to be a very difficult one, but it was finally settled and the organization of the convention was completed by making Senator Schurz of Missouri chairman. The



SILAS WOODSON

Governor of Missouri, 1872-74. The first Democratic Governor of the State after the outbreak of the Civil War.

2. Liberal
Republican
National
Convention

task of drafting a platform and of nominating the President and the Vice President was then taken up. The platform adopted called for "universal amnesty, impartial suffrage, local self government, the maintenance of the writ of *habeas corpus*, and civil service reform." But the convention made an unfortunate selection for President. The Missourians had come to the convention with the determination to secure the nomination of B. Gratz Brown, one of the country's leading exponents of the Liberal cause. Instead of selecting him, however, the convention nominated Horace Greeley, who, notwithstanding his great ability, had but little sympathy with the Liberal program. Brown was nominated for Vice President. Subsequently the Democratic national convention adopted the platform and the candidates of the Liberal Republican convention.

Victory of
coalitionists
Missouri

In Missouri the coalition between the Liberal Republicans and the Democrats won a very great victory. Greeley and Brown carried the State over Grant and Wilson by more than 32,000 votes, and Woodson defeated Henderson, who had been nominated for governor by the regular Republicans, by more than 35,000. However, Grant was overwhelmingly reelected, only six or seven states having been carried by Greeley.

campaign
1874

Notwithstanding these successes of the Liberal Republicans and the Democrats in Missouri in 1870 and 1872, the Liberal Republicans were destined to disappear as a separate party in the State before 1874, when the next State election occurred. This was perhaps the natural thing to happen. Two parties in coalition with each other cannot long remain as separate parties; one must give way to the other. In this case the Liberal Republicans gave way to the Democrats. Not all, however, of the first party went over to the second, for many of the Liberals returned to the ranks of the old Republican party.

But it was not until 1876 that the regular Republicans



THE RETURN OF THE DEMOCRATS TO POWER 427

entered the political field in Missouri as a separate party. In 1874 they united in Missouri with the Grange in forming what was known as the People's party or the Reform party. This new party put out a State ticket with William Gentry, a prominent farmer and Republican, as their candidate for governor.

1. People's Party — A Combination of the Grange and the Republicans

The Grange had been founded as a national organization in 1876 for the purpose of enabling the farmers to purchase supplies at first hand and thus save for themselves the middlemen's profits. This organization excluded from its membership lawyers, merchants, bankers, and capitalists. It grew steadily from the start, but a very decided impetus was given to its further development by the panic of 1873. This panic had been brought on by the wild and excessive speculation that had been indulged in after the war. It hit Missouri very hard; many men were thrown out of employment and many people lost very heavily from the failure of banks and other business enterprises.

In two years after the panic the membership of the Grange was quadrupled, numbering 1,500,000 by the year 1875. It was very strong in Missouri, but not so strong as in Illinois and Wisconsin. It compelled the State government of Missouri to reduce expenditures and to introduce a system of regulation for railroads and corporations.

Notwithstanding this combination between the Republicans and the Grange, the Democrats won the election of 1874. Hardin, the Democratic candidate for governor, led Gentry by a majority of 37,000. The Democrats also elected all thirteen of the Congressmen to which Missouri was then entitled. It is significant, however, that neither Hardin nor Gentry polled as large a vote as did Woodson and Henderson in 1872, notwithstanding the fact that the population of the State was rapidly increasing.¹ The explanation for this slump in the

2. Victory of the Democrats

¹ Hardin's vote in 1874 was 7000 less than Woodson's in 1872.

vote in 1874 is that before the election occurred it was generally considered that the Democrats would be successful and hence both parties relaxed their efforts somewhat and did not bring out their full strength at the polls. The defeat of the People's party in 1874 had a decided reaction upon the strength of the Grange and it immediately began to decline.¹

Democratic
rule in
Missouri
since 1874

For more than 20 years after the victory of 1874 the Democrats enjoyed an unbroken series of victories at



HERBERT S. HADLEY

Governor of Missouri, 1909-13.
The first Republican Governor of
Missouri since 1872.

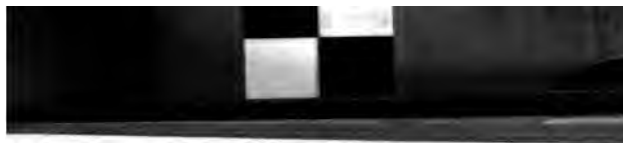
the polls in Missouri over their regular opponents, the Republicans. In 1894, owing to the Republican landslide that swept over the whole country, the Democrats suffered their first defeat in Missouri after 1874, the Republicans electing not only the state superintendent of schools, a supreme court justice, and the railroad and warehouse commissioner, but also a majority of the members of the house of representatives. In 1904 they elected the entire State ticket except the governor, and in 1908

they elected the governor.² The Presidential election in both of these years was carried by the Republicans. With these exceptions the Democrats have remained in power in Missouri from 1874 down to the present time.

In 1874 the legislature passed an act authorizing the

¹ The Grange still exists as a national and a state organization, but it is no longer an institution in politics.

² Joseph W. Folk was elected governor in 1904 on the Democratic ticket, and Herbert S. Hadley was elected governor in 1908 on the Republican ticket.



THE RETURN OF THE DEMOCRATS TO POWER 429

people to vote in November on the proposition as to whether or not a convention should be held to revise and amend the constitution which had been adopted in 1865. The proposition was carried by a narrow majority of 283 votes. The aggregate vote on the question was 222,315, which was 39,000 below the aggregate vote for governor in the same election. A special election was held on January 26, 1875, to elect the delegates to this convention. Of the 68 delegates elected, 60 were Democrats, 6 were Republicans, and 2 were Liberal Republicans.

Constitution
of 1875

The convention met at Jefferson City on May 5 and continued in session until August 2. It proceeded with its work by appointing a series of committees whose duty was to draft different parts of the constitution and submit them to the convention for consideration.¹ Among these committees were those on the bill of rights, the legislative department, the executive department, the judicial department, revenue and taxation, and education.

1. Constitu-
tional
Convention

There was considerable debate over the report of the committee on the legislative department. The article that was adopted on the basis of this report (Article IV) contained a great many regulations as to the method of procedure in the passage of bills. Among these were the following:

No law shall be passed but by bill; no bill, except appropriation bills, shall contain more than one subject; all amendments adopted shall be printed with the engrossed bill before its passage; no bill shall become a law unless on its final passage the vote shall be taken in yeas and nays; no law except a general appropriation act shall take effect until 90 days after final adjournment,

¹ As the *Proceedings of the Convention of 1875* are still in manuscript form and have not been published, it is not possible to discuss the work of this convention as fully as that of the conventions of 1820 and 1865.

unless an emergency clause be enacted by a two-thirds vote of all the members elected to each house; and before each bill is signed by the presiding officer of each house, it shall be read at length within the hearing of the members.

Considerable debate was occasioned over the question of representation and apportionment. There was a strong demand that county representation be abandoned and that something like equal electoral districts be adopted, but such a scheme failed to carry. The two previous constitutions had provided for county representation, and the convention of 1875 was unwilling to abandon it, notwithstanding the inequality in population among the various counties.

In the article dealing with the executive department (Article v) the gubernatorial term was lengthened from two years to four, and the governor was made ineligible to succeed himself.¹

In the article providing for the judicial department (Article vi) many new and important provisions were enacted, among which were the fixing of the term of the supreme court judges at ten years and the creation of the St. Louis court of appeals with three judges for a term of twelve years.² All the judges of these courts and of the circuit courts were to be elected by the people.

In the article dealing with revenue and taxation (Article x) provision was made that the State tax, exclusive of the tax to pay the bonded debt of the State, should not exceed twenty cents on a hundred dollars, and should not exceed fifteen cents whenever the taxable property of the State amounted to over \$900,000,000. Moreover, the taxing and debt-contracting powers of the legislature

¹ In these respects the constitution of 1875 returns to the constitution of 1820.

² Since 1875 two new courts of appeals have been created, one at Kansas City and one at Springfield. Each of these courts has a bench of three judges.

and of counties, cities, towns, and all other municipalities were hedged about by effective safeguards and limitations.

Provision was made in the article on education (Article XI) for the increase and preservation of State and county



MISSOURI COUNTIES FROM 1876 TO THE PRESENT.
The only change that has been made in the counties of Missouri since 1861 is the erection of the city of St. Louis into a separate county in 1876.

funds for the maintenance of the public school system. Moreover, it was made the duty of the legislature to aid and maintain the State university then established with its various departments. Separate free public schools for the education of negro children were also provided for.

The constitution as drafted by the convention was submitted to the people on October 30, and was adopted

2. Adoption of the Constitution



by a vote of 91,205 to 14,517. It was put into effect on November 30, 1875.¹

**demands
for a New
Constitution**

The constitution as adopted in 1875 has remained in force down to the present. Certain amendments have been added to it from time to time, but in its most fundamental parts it has remained unchanged. For a number of years, however, there have been constant demands for a thorough revision of this constitution. These demands have come from different sections of the State and from different classes of people. At least two causes can be given for the rise of these demands.

**Present
Constitution
Too Long
and Compli-
cated**

In the first place, the Missouri constitution is now considered to be too long and complicated. "In order to stand the test of time a constitution must be brief. It should embrace only the fundamental organization of the government, if it is intended to be permanent, as opposed to statutes which require modification and repeal from time to time." The National Constitution and the first constitution of Missouri were framed in accordance with this principle. The one contained originally only about 4000 words, to which have been added about 2000 words in the way of amendments; the other contained only about 10,000 words. But the present constitution of Missouri contains about 30,000 words, not counting the amendments.

That the constitution of Missouri of 1875 was drawn out to such great length was due to the desire of the people to put certain matters beyond the power of the legislature and other officials to change or do away with. Hence, certain things that would ordinarily have been provided

¹ Acting under the authority granted by this constitution, the city of St. Louis separated itself from St. Louis County in 1876, enlarged its territorial limits (it had already annexed the city of Carondelet in 1871), erected itself into an independent municipality, and adopted a special charter. This separation of St. Louis from the county is the last change that has been made in the county organization of the State. See the map on page 431.



THE RETURN OF THE DEMOCRATS TO POWER 433

for by legislation were incorporated in the constitution where they could not be modified or repealed by the general assembly. "The constitution thus became a code of laws instead of a fundamental document."

In the second place, the provisions of the Missouri constitution are too detailed in character, thus giving it an inflexibility that has prevented it from being easily adapted to new conditions. When the provisions of a constitution are fundamental in character, as in the case of the National Constitution, "it is possible to include within their scope new needs which arise from time to time." Hence the functions of our National Government have been greatly increased without any material amendments to the Constitution. "In our State constitution, however, matters are regulated with such detail that this is impossible. As new conditions arise, the statutes enacted for their regulation will frequently conflict with the provisions of the constitution which were adopted under entirely different conditions, but which become at the present time sources of litigation and obstacles to progress."

2. Its
Inflexibility

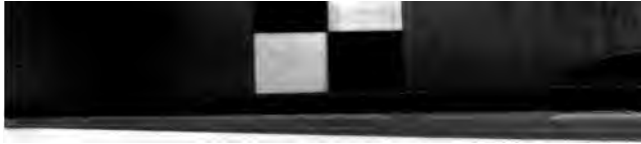
The greatest amount of detail in the present constitution is in those sections that deal with taxation and revenue. This is due to the desire that prevailed in 1875 to limit the financial powers of the legislature and of the various local governmental bodies. The unfortunate experience which the State had had with the building of railroads had developed this cautiousness. The constitution of 1820 had put very few limitations upon the financial powers of the legislature, and that body, as we have seen in a former chapter, had incurred before 1861 a debt of more than \$25,000,000 in behalf of the railroads, which the State was forced to pay without any remuneration. Moreover, in the "Drake Constitution of 1865," the county courts were authorized to issue bonds in behalf of railroads whenever two thirds of the qualified voters should assent thereto. Unfortunately the conditions that prevailed during the

3. Provisions
regarding
Taxation
and Revenue

(a) Railroad
Frauds

ten years following the adoption of the "Drake Constitution" made possible a great deal of corruption in the counties throughout the State. Often the county courts were composed of men who could be induced by dishonest promoters to submit to the people propositions to issue bonds for railroads that were never intended to be built; and as many of the property holders and men of influence in these counties were disfranchised on account of the test oath of the "Drake Constitution," the bonds were often carried through the extensive use of bribery among the very much restricted electorate. In some instances the county courts were induced to subscribe in behalf of the counties to the projected railroads without submitting the proposition to the people at all. Bonds to the amount of \$15,000,000 were in this way issued by the counties. This would not have been so bad except that the railroads for which these bonds had been issued were seldom constructed. Sometimes a road would be built for a short distance and then the work on it would be completely abandoned. Meanwhile the bonds which the different county courts had issued to the companies that subsequently failed to build the roads came into the hands of ostensibly innocent parties who demanded payment. In some counties the bonds were paid in full, and in others the matter was compromised, whereby the counties paid from fifty to eighty per cent of the face value of the bonds. In certain counties, however, the payment of the bonds either in part or in full was bitterly opposed for many years.¹

¹ The bondholders brought suit in the United States courts against the counties that had refused to make payment, and they obtained judgments in their favor. But they had a difficult time in getting these judgments enforced. The county judges refused in many instances to obey the order of the United States courts to levy the taxes with which to pay the bonds, even though they were imprisoned for their refusal. After long years of controversy, the matter has been settled by compromise in most of the counties which had resisted the payment of these bonds.



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It was to prevent the repetition of such recklessness and fraud in the issuing of bonds as has just been described that caused the convention of 1875 to include in the new constitution provisions which forbade the legislature imposing any debt upon the State in any amount exceeding \$250,000 for any year, unless two thirds of the voters at an election should authorize it to do so, and which also prohibited towns and counties from issuing bonds for any purpose whatsoever except for the construction of public improvements. In addition to these limitations placed upon the various government authorities in the State with regard to borrowing money or issuing bonds, there were also very strict limitations put upon their power to levy taxes.

Salutary as these limitations were at the time of their adoption, they have become somewhat of a restriction upon the development of the State as a whole and upon that of towns and counties. An agitation has recently been started for a new constitution. As yet, however, the legislature has shown an unwillingness to call a constitutional convention. In 1917 the house passed a resolution providing for such a convention, but the senate refused to concur.

(b) Limitations on Taxation

4. Refusal of Legislature to Call a Constitutional Convention

REFERENCES

Harvey, *State of Missouri from Its Territorial Days to 1904*, ch. xviii. The articles that Mr. Barclay promises for the *Missouri Historical Review* for July and October, 1918, mentioned in the References of the preceding chapter, will contain material bearing upon this chapter.



CHAPTER XXII

THE FREE SILVER CAMPAIGN IN MISSOURI

[*Historical Setting.*—The Presidential Campaign of 1896.]

rise of the
Free Silver
issue

MISSOURI played an important part in developing the sentiment that produced the free silver issue in our national politics in 1896. Although this issue was quickly laid aside after it had once been definitely formulated, it stirred the country perhaps more deeply than has any other since the Civil War, and for that reason we are justified in giving a little attention here to the part that Missouri took in the matter.

. Green-
back
movement

The free silver question was not suddenly formulated and thrust upon the American public without warning. For more than twenty years the issue had been developing. The foundation was laid for it by the greenback movement which arose shortly after the Civil War. After the resumption of peace and the return of the soldiers to the various industries of the country, there came about a vast increase in the amount of farm products. At the same time the volume of the currency of the country was becoming greatly contracted through the effort that was being made to stop the use of the greenbacks that had been issued during the war. The increase in the output of the farms and the contraction in the volume of the currency conspired to reduce prices. As the farmers were the first to feel the effects of this depression, they began to demand that the government should discontinue the retirement of the greenbacks and resume issuing them for an indefinite period of time.

This demand for the continued use of the greenbacks gave rise to the Greenback party, which figured in the



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Presidential campaigns of 1876, 1880, and 1884. In none of these campaigns did the party succeed in getting a single electoral vote, but in 1880 it developed considerable strength in Missouri. Indeed, Missouri was the banner Greenback state that year, giving Weaver, the Presidential candidate of the party, a larger vote than he received in any other state,¹ and electing four of the eight Congressmen that were elected by the Greenbackers in the country at large.

Greenbackism subsided in Missouri after 1880, but it was revived under the form of Populism in 1892. The hard times that overtook the country in the late eighties led to the formation of the National Farmers' Alliance in 1890, and this was expanded into the Populist party by 1892. Most of those who still adhered to the greenback idea went over to the Populist party in 1892, when it adopted most of the ideas of the old Greenback party and nominated Weaver, the Greenback candidate of 1880, for President.² Weaver mustered a following in Missouri amounting to more than 40,000, but Missouri was far from being the banner Populist state.³

2. Populist
Movement

Although the Greenback and Populist parties lived for only a short time, they reënforced the influences that were at work throughout certain sections of the country formulating the free silver issue, and in that way they acquired a special significance in the history of the political parties in this country.

The free silver issue began to assume definite shape when on November 5, 1877, Richard Parks Bland, Congressman from Missouri, introduced a bill into the House

3. Bland
Silver Bill,
1877

¹ Weaver received 35,000 votes in Missouri that year.

² Weaver carried six states and received 22 electoral votes. Kansas was the greatest stronghold of Populism.

³ The Populists adopted the Greenbackers' ideas of unlimited and full legal tender notes, assailed the banks, declared for free silver and for the purchase of railroads and telegraph and telephones by the government, and demanded loans by the government at low rates of interest on the deposits of farm products.

of Representatives directing the free and unlimited coinage of silver dollars of the weight of $412\frac{1}{2}$ grains of standard silver which were to be legal tender at their nominal value for all debts and dues, public and private, except when otherwise provided for by contract. "This bill was to undo "the crime of 1873," that is, the Act passed



RICHARD PARKS BLAND

Congressman from Missouri, 1873-95, 1897-99. Author of the Bland Silver Bill and original leader of the Free Silver movement.

in that year which discontinued the coinage of the silver dollar. Bland had been elected to Congress in 1872, but he had attracted no attention until he introduced this bill in 1877. Thereafter he became a "national character," and the silver question became "an absorbing issue in American politics."

Bland's bill was passed by Congress in a modified form, so that instead of the free and unlimited coinage of silver, provision was made for the coinage of not less than \$2,000,000 and not more than \$4,000,000 of silver of the prescribed weight each month, and in addition provision was made that the profit of coinage should go into the national treasury instead of to the owners of the bullion. President Hayes vetoed the bill, but Congress passed it over his veto.

Sherman
ct, 1890

In spite of the passage of Bland's bill, the price of silver continued to fall. To counteract this continued decline in the price of silver, Bland tried to get Congress to pass his original bill, which provided for free and unlimited coinage, but Congress refused to comply with his recommendation. Finally Congress passed the Sherman law of 1890, which directed the President to pur-



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chase 4,500,000 ounces of silver each month at the market price and to issue in payment for it treasury notes which were to be legal tender and which were to be redeemed in gold or silver at the discretion of the Secretary of the Treasury. This law was repealed in 1893, doubtless because of the panic that occurred that year.

By this time the free silver issue was becoming a party issue. When Bland first introduced his measure in 1877, it was supported by Democrats and Republicans alike; it was by no means thought of as a partisan matter. But the Sherman law was enacted in 1890 by a Republican Congress, and was repealed in 1893 by a Democratic Congress. Free silver was by this time becoming a political issue. There was, however, considerable uncertainty in 1894 as to which of the parties would become the free silver party.

Notwithstanding Bland's prominence in Missouri and the nation, he found a great deal of opposition to his free silver notions among the Democrats of Missouri. This showed itself at the Democratic State convention in 1894. Ex-Governor Francis led the faction that opposed Bland and succeeded in modifying the State platform so that although the free coinage of silver was demanded, the demand was not so strong as Bland had wanted it. Moreover, there was no mention of sixteen to one in the platform, but there was a more or less ambiguous statement that gold and silver should be coined at such a ratio as would maintain the two metals in circulation.

The election of 1894 was very disastrous for the Democrats in Missouri as well as in the country at large. Of the fifteen Congressmen from Missouri, the Democrats elected only five, whereas in 1892 they had elected thirteen. Bland was among the Democrats who were defeated. The Republicans not only elected ten Congressmen but they also elected the State ticket for that year, including the state superintendent of schools, a

5. Formulation of the Issue

Free Silver Issue in Missouri

1. Campaign of 1894



supreme court judge, and a railroad and warehouse commissioner.

. Pertle
Springs
Convention,
1895

Notwithstanding his failure to get the State Democratic convention to endorse his free silver program in full in 1894, Bland succeeded in swinging the party into line with him by the time the next election was held. The means employed in effecting this was the holding of a State convention at Pertle Springs in August, 1895. It was decidedly unusual to hold such a convention in an "off year," but Bland was determined to get the majority of the Democratic party behind him, and to have Missouri lead in nation-wide free silver propaganda.

Accordingly the Pertle Springs convention was held on August 6, 1895, with Bland presiding. After considerable debate, the convention passed a series of resolutions demanding the free coinage of silver at the ratio of sixteen to one without waiting for the action and approval of any other nation. It also increased the size of the State committee by adding nineteen more members to the original fifteen, thus securing to the free silver element an undoubted control of the State committee. This committee was instructed to call the State Democratic convention to elect delegates to the national convention not later than April, 1896. The object of holding the State convention at least three months in advance of the national convention was to sound the keynote of the campaign for the other democratic State gatherings in the West and South.¹

. Bland
Candidate
for the
Presidency

Bland's program was carried out to the letter. The State convention was held in Sedalia on April 15, 1896, and it unhesitatingly declared for the free and unlimited coinage of silver at the ratio of sixteen to one. It also nominated Bland for President. As was planned, most of the States in the southern and western parts of the

¹ On February 29, 1896, the gold Democrats met at St. Louis and protested against the program of the free silver element in the party.



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country took their cue from the Missouri convention and likewise declared for free silver. Doubtless the free silver Republicans were encouraged by the impetus that Missouri had given to the free silver movement to withdraw from the Republican convention at St. Louis in June when that convention declined to insert a free silver plank into its platform. Bland, however, was defeated for the nomination of the Presidency in the Democratic convention held in Chicago in July, notwithstanding the lead he maintained over all other candidates on the first three ballots. On the sixth ballot William Jennings Bryan of Nebraska, who had captivated the convention with his "cross of gold speech," was nominated.

Although the Missouri Democrats were greatly disappointed that Bland had not received the nomination, they rallied in great strength to Bryan, giving him more than 363,000 votes, nearly 60,000 more than McKinley received.¹ The gold Democrats proved to be fewer in number than was expected, as there were only 2,355 votes cast for Palmer. Doubtless many of them voted for McKinley instead of the candidate of their own faction.

4. Campaign
of 1896

REFERENCES

Byars, *Richard Parks Bland*. A very elaborate biography of this distinguished Missourian. Harvey, *The State of Missouri from Its Territorial Days to 1904*, ch. xx.

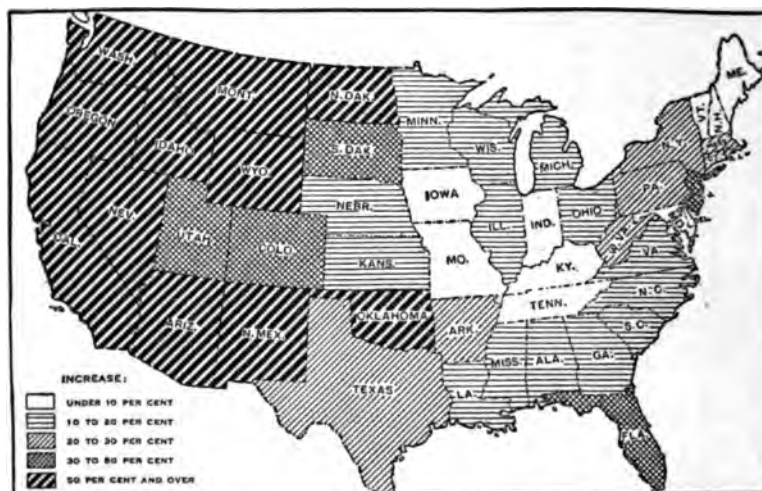
¹ Bryan's popularity in Missouri declined considerably during the Presidential campaign of 1900, his plurality over McKinley amounting to only 38,000 as compared with 60,000 in 1896. In the campaign of 1908 he failed to carry the State against Taft by less than 1000 votes.

CHAPTER XXIII

RECENT ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT IN MISSOURI

[*Historical Setting.* — Recent Economic and Social Development in the United States.]

UNDER the heading of this chapter many things might very profitably be discussed, but the limitations of this book compel us to confine ourselves to a few topics.



MAP SHOWING THE CLASSIFICATION OF THE STATES ACCORDING TO INCREASE IN POPULATION FROM 1900 TO 1910

Those that have been chosen for discussion are: the growth in population of the State; the development of its industries and wealth; its indebtedness; its educational institutions; and the prohibition movement within the State. They will be taken up in the order named.



I. GROWTH OF POPULATION

The population of the State, according to the census of 1910, was 3,293,335. In 1810, when the first census was taken in what is now Missouri, it was only 20,845. During the one hundred years intervening between these two dates, there was a continuous growth in population decade by decade. At times the growth was very large, especially in the early period. At other times it was relatively small, particularly during the decade between 1900 and 1910. The following table shows the population from time to time, the percentage of growth, and the rank of Missouri among the states of the Union.

Rate of
Increase of
Population
from 1810
to 1910

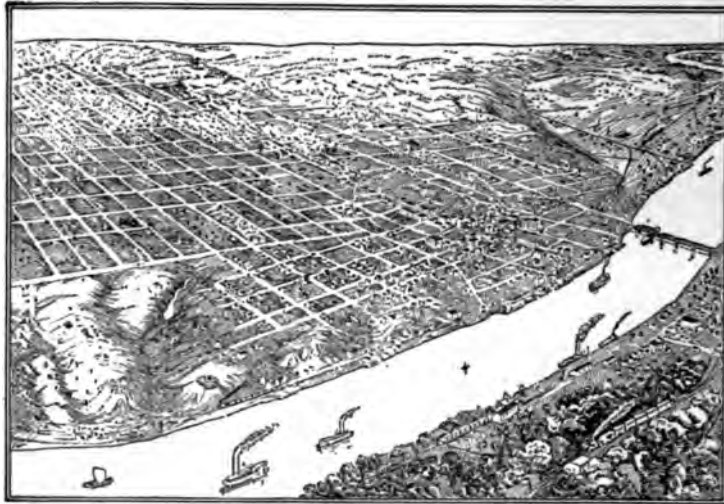
| YEAR | POPULATION | PERCENTAGE OF GROWTH | RANK AMONG THE STATES |
|------|------------|----------------------|-----------------------|
| 1810 | 20,845 | — | 23 |
| 1820 | 66,586 | 230 | 23 |
| 1830 | 140,455 | 112 | 21 |
| 1840 | 383,702 | 173 | 16 |
| 1850 | 682,044 | 78 | 13 |
| 1860 | 1,182,012 | 70 | 8 |
| 1870 | 1,721,295 | 45 | 5 |
| 1880 | 2,168,380 | 24 | 5 |
| 1890 | 2,679,184 | 23 | 5 |
| 1900 | 3,106,065 | 16 | 5 |
| 1910 | 3,293,335 | 6 | 7 |

It will be noted from this table that the rate of increase in the population of the State has steadily declined since 1840, and that between 1900 and 1910 it was less than ten per cent.¹ This decline after 1880 was due largely to the fact that all the good government lands had been entered by that time, so that farmers wanting cheap lands

¹ There were ten states whose increase in population was less than ten per cent during the decade from 1900 to 1910. They were Iowa, Indiana, Kentucky, Tennessee, Maryland, Delaware, Vermont, New Hampshire, Maine, and Missouri. See map on page 442.

were compelled to go farther west and northwest. The increase in population which Missouri has enjoyed since 1880 has been chiefly in her cities. St. Louis is now the fourth city in the Union, Kansas City the twentieth, and St. Joseph the sixtieth.¹

It will also be noted from this table that as early as 1870 Missouri ranked fifth in the nation in population.



TOPOGRAPHICAL VIEW OF KANSAS CITY ABOUT 1875

**Rank of
Missouri in
Population
in the
Nation**

This is the more remarkable because in 1860 she ranked only eighth, and because during the first half of the decade between 1860 and 1870 there was a decided falling off in the population of the State, owing to the great number that were killed in the war and to the removal of a great many others from the State for safety. This loss was, however, more than made up during the latter half of that decade, so that the net gain for the decade

¹ New York, Chicago, and Philadelphia rank above St. Louis in the order named. The population of St. Louis in 1910 was 687,029; of Kansas City, 248,381; of St. Joseph, 77,403. St. Joseph increased her population by 97 per cent between 1890 and 1900.



was nearly 45 per cent. Many a Union soldier from Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio who had served in Missouri during the war came back to settle after peace was declared. Moreover, large numbers of people were induced to move to Missouri after the war through the special efforts of the immigration bureau, and many more came to the State in the general westward movement that set in after 1865.

Missouri was able to hold fifth place among the states of the Union in population from 1870 to 1910, after which she dropped back to seventh. New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Ohio, Texas, and Massachusetts now (1918) rank ahead of Missouri in the order named. There is little likelihood of its ever recovering its position as fifth.

2. DEVELOPMENT OF INDUSTRIES AND WEALTH

Missouri is primarily an agricultural state. Of the **Agriculture** 44,000,000 acres lying within its borders, 34,600,000 make up the 277,244 farms which the State is said to have; but of these 34,600,000 acres only about 24,600,000 are under cultivation. In other words, about 10,000,000 acres included within our farms either are unworked or are used for rough pasturage. In addition there are about 4,000,000 acres as yet unsettled.¹

Notwithstanding the immense amount of land that is as yet uncultivated, Missouri ranks first among the states of the Union in its annual poultry products, second in mules, third in corn, and seventh in wheat. When every available acre of land in the State is properly tilled, the annual output of corn, wheat, oats, hay, and similar staples will, it is estimated, be increased more than 60 per cent, besides the great gains that will be made in the production of vegetables, fruit, dairy products, live stock,

¹ In twenty counties more than 95 per cent of the total land area is included in the farms of those counties, while in only six counties is the farming land from 20 to 40 per cent of the total area, and in none is it less than 20 per cent.



honey, wool, and other farm commodities. "What Missouri could do if it was divided up into small farms ranging from forty to one hundred acres and each worked intensively, would be almost beyond belief to anyone who has never cultivated on a scientific scale."¹

The average value per acre of the farms in Missouri in 1917 was \$41.80, having doubled in less than ten years.² In three counties (St. Louis, Jackson, and Buchanan) the average value exceeds \$100 per acre. In only three counties (Taney, Ozark, and Shannon) is the average value less than \$10 per acre. The total value of the farms of the State is \$1,445,982,389, and including the buildings, implements, machinery, and domestic animals used in the cultivation of the farms, it rises to more than \$2,000,000,000.

mining

But Missouri is not merely an agricultural state. It takes high rank in other industries. In mining and minerals it is first in zinc, lead, cadmium, tripoli, and barytes, fourth in mineral paints, fifth in the manufacture of lime, seventh in clay products, Portland cement, sand and gravel, and ninth in building stone.

manuf-
ures and
commerce

Missouri is also rising rapidly in the realm of manufactures and commerce. She maintains high rank in the production of boots and shoes, tobacco, malt liquors, street and railway cars, brick and tiling, canned goods, pearl buttons, walnut lumber, flour, feed and meal, packing house products, railroad ties, printing, clothing, drugs and chemicals, and bakery and dairy products.

¹ Of Missouri's 277,244 farms only 74,178 are from 50 to 99 acres in size. The following table classifying the farms of the State according to size is suggestive :

| | | | |
|--------------------------|--------|-------------------------------|--------|
| Under 3 acres | 455 | 100 to 174 acres | 80,020 |
| 3 to 9 acres | 8,561 | 175 to 259 acres | 32,109 |
| 10 to 19 acres | 10,740 | 260 to 499 acres | 19,812 |
| 20 to 49 acres | 47,398 | 500 to 999 acres | 3,427 |
| 50 to 99 acres | 74,178 | 1000 acres and over | 544 |

² In 1890 it was only \$20.46.



In the boot and shoe and the tobacco trades, St. Louis has advanced very rapidly in recent years, so that it stands to-day as one of the country's greatest centers of these industries. We have already seen in another chapter how St. Louis has come to be the greatest fur market in the world. Kansas City and St. Joseph are rising rapidly in the packing industry.

Shortly after the Civil War Chicago began to forge ahead of St. Louis as a commercial center, because of the superior transportation advantages which the Great Lakes and the railroads afforded, giving her connection with points in all directions, especially to the west and northwest, and to the east and northeast. But in recent years St. Louis and Kansas City have been able to develop commercially the vast stretch of territory that lies to the southwest, and they are gaining rapidly under the influence of this trade.¹

The development of the wealth of the State since the Civil War may be seen from the following table showing the taxable wealth by decades from 1860. This taxable wealth includes real estate, personal property, railroads and bridges, and telephone and telegraph properties.

| | |
|----------------|---------------|
| 1860 | \$296,522,806 |
| 1870 | 504,255,855 |
| 1880 | 527,993,520 |
| 1890 | 756,283,894 |
| 1900 | 1,001,766,464 |
| 1910 | 1,464,685,422 |
| 1916 | 1,856,885,145 |

It is to be borne in mind that the actual wealth of the State is several times what is set down here as its taxable wealth. In all probability the amount for each decade should be multiplied by three or four to get approximately the valuation of the actual wealth in the State.

¹ The Louisiana Purchase Exposition held in St. Louis in 1904 gave the State a great opportunity to exhibit its economic and industrial resources to the world at large.

3. INDEBTEDNESS

nto
ibt

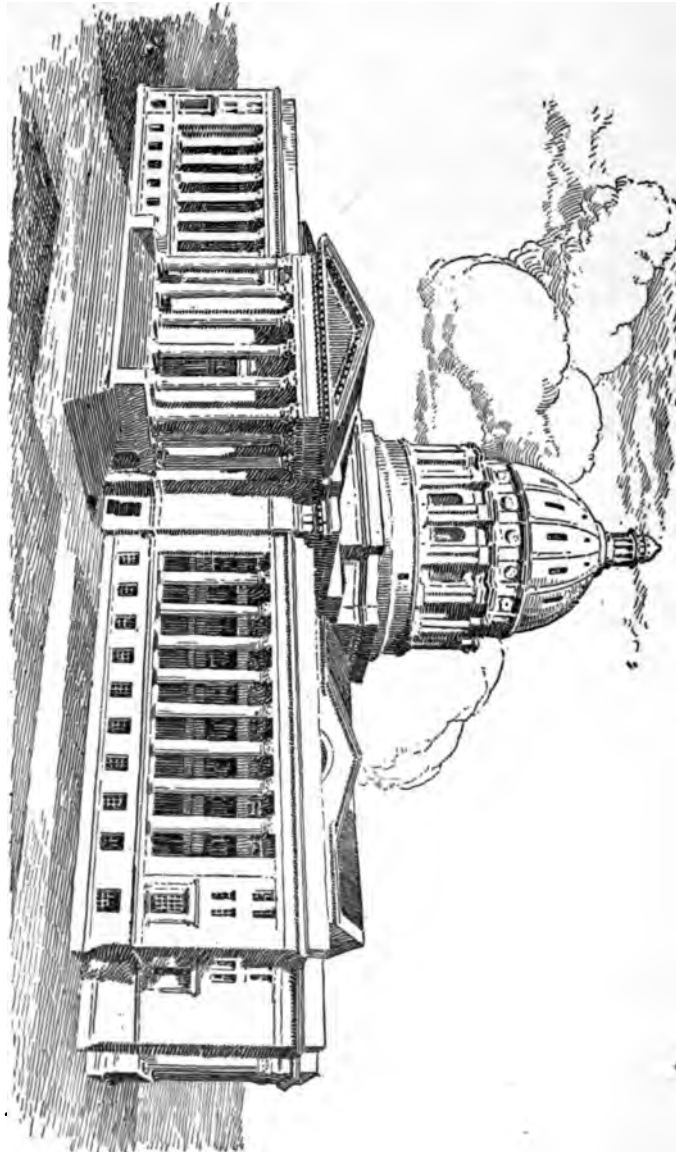
When Missouri entered the Union in 1821 she had no indebtedness hanging over her, but by 1829 it was necessary to borrow \$70,000 to redeem the outstanding auditor's warrants and the loan office certificates.¹ In 1837 the State issued its first bonds so that it might be able to take stock in the Bank of the State of Missouri, which was chartered that year. Later other bonds were issued for the building of a capitol, for making internal improvements, for building a tobacco warehouse in St. Louis, for waging war against Iowa, the Mormons, and the Indians,² and for paying the accrued interest on bonds. By 1846 the public debt of the State amounted to \$957,261.

In the fifties and sixties the State had piled up an enormous debt for herself in attempting to help the railroads, an account of which has been given in Chapter IX. This added \$23,701,000 to the State indebtedness, which was further increased during the Civil War by various war expenditures amounting to \$8,464,275, most of which, however, was in the form of floating debts. The total debt of the State in 1865 was \$36,094,908, of which \$24,754,000 was bonded and \$11,340,908 floating.

By careful economy, amounting sometimes to parsimony, the State succeeded in canceling the last vestige of this debt in 1905. A new debt, however, was incurred in 1912, to the amount of \$3,500,000, for the pur-

¹ Missouri established loan offices in 1821, and authorized them to issue certificates to the amount of \$200,000 with mortgages on real estate or personal property as security. The scheme did not succeed, owing to the manner in which the original intention of these offices was diverted. Loan offices were therefore soon abolished.

² The war with Iowa was over the boundary between that state and Missouri. The troubles with the Mormons arose from various causes and led to their expulsion from the State in 1839. This matter is fully discussed in Chapter X.



THE NEW CAPITOL OF MISSOURI
Erected 1913-1917 at a cost of \$3,500,000



pose of rebuilding the capitol, which had been burned in February, 1911.¹

Certificates
Indebted-
ness

In addition to this recently incurred bonded debt, the State school fund and the seminary fund of Missouri are held in the form of State certificates of indebtedness and are therefore a part of the State debt upon which Missouri pays annually a certain rate of interest. The first of these funds amounted in 1917 to \$3,159,281, and the second to \$1,276,839. The income which the State pays to itself on the school fund certificate, together with one third of the general revenue of the State, is apportioned annually by the state superintendent to the counties and to the city of St. Louis, according to certain rules governing the apportionment; while that which is received on the seminary certificate is used for the support of the State University. How the State came to acquire such a debt will be briefly outlined here.

Origin of
the State
school and
seminary
funds

The origin of the State school fund and the seminary fund is to be found in the grants of land made by the National Government to Missouri at the time of her admission into the Union. According to the Enabling Act of 1820, the new State was given for its use all the salt springs within its borders, not exceeding twelve in number, with six sections of land adjoining each. It was decided by the legislature to put the proceeds of the sale of this land into the school fund of the State, which the legislature had started in 1837 when it set aside for that purpose the share that Missouri had received from the distribution of the surplus funds in the national treasury the year before.

Invest-
ment of these
funds

By October 1, 1842, the State school fund amounted to \$575,667, all of which was invested in the stock of the Bank of the State of Missouri, which had been chartered by the legislature in 1837. On the whole, this form of investment was never very satisfactory, as the dividends

¹ The bonded indebtedness of the counties amounted to \$5,000,000 in 1910, and that of the cities to \$30,000,000.

from the bank were not paid regularly, and there was great fluctuation in the rate even when the dividends were paid. The bank stock which was held by the school fund was therefore sold in March, 1866, to Captain J. B. Eads, the sale price amounting to \$718,235. Although the stock sold at a slight premium, it was paid for in the bonds of the State, so that while the transaction reduced the State debt, it did so by using up most of the school fund. In 1866 all that was left of this fund was \$153,389.

In that year, however, Missouri was reimbursed to the amount of \$7,000,000 by the National Government for the expenditures it had made in enrolling, maintaining, and equipping the militia during the Civil War. In 1867 the legislature decided to appropriate \$1,500,000 of this amount to be used for the benefit of the public schools, and invested it in United States bonds. In addition, other investments were made in United States and Missouri bonds so that by 1870 the State school fund amounted to \$1,674,986.

Meanwhile, nothing had been done to replace in the State school fund what had been taken out of it by the sale of the stock of the Bank of the State of Missouri. In 1872, however, the legislature decided to order the auditor to issue a certificate of indebtedness for \$900,000 at six per cent annual interest. This amount was about equal to what would have been the sale price of the bank stock in 1866 plus the interest on it for six years. In this way the State attempted to make up for the diversion of the greater part of its school fund in 1866.

In 1875 the State board of education ordered the sale of the United States bonds that were being held by the State for the school fund to the amount of \$1,671,600, and the money thus realized was invested in Missouri bonds. From time to time other sums were added to the fund, so that by January 1, 1881, it amounted to \$2,909,792. In that year the legislature passed an act consolidating this fund and issuing for it a certificate of

3. Consol-
dation of the
School Fund



indebtedness for the entire amount of the fund, payable in thirty years after date, with interest at six per cent.

Constitu-
tional
amend-
ments, 1902

In time this transaction created a great deal of controversy, especially in the first two or three years of this century. It was freely asserted that there was no constitutional authority for what had been done, and there was considerable talk about the "looting of the school fund." While there was no foundation for the charge of looting, there was good reason for doubting whether the use of this fund to reduce the debt of the State was constitutional. In order, therefore, to set at rest all uncertainty in the matter, a constitutional amendment was submitted to the people in 1902, providing for the renewal of this certificate of indebtedness for the State school fund; the amendment was adopted. The amount of the permanent State school fund in 1917 was, as has been said, \$3,159,281.

At the same time that this amendment regarding the State school fund was adopted, another concerning the seminary fund was also adopted. This fund, like the school fund, had for its origin another grant of land made by Congress in the Enabling Act of 1820. By this grant Congress donated seventy-two sections of land for the establishment and support of the seminary of learning. The history of the founding and growth of that institution will be traced briefly in another part of this chapter. Space will not permit even an outline of the history of the seminary fund here, but it should be noted that, like the State school fund, the seminary fund had come to be invested in Missouri bonds during the seventies, and that in 1902 all question as to the constitutionality of this investment was removed by the adoption of a constitutional amendment authorizing the renewal of the certificate of indebtedness for the seminary fund.

urrent
efficien-
cies

For more than ten years there has been a gradual falling behind in the finances of the State, owing to the increased demands on the part of the various State institu-



tions in order to carry on their work effectively, and to the failure of the legislature to secure adequate funds to meet these demands. The matter was brought to a climax at the close of the biennial period of 1915-16, when a \$2,000,000 deficit had accumulated. Governor Gardner thereupon laid the matter before the legislature and succeeded in getting such revenue laws passed as will enable the State to pay off this deficit in two years and at the same time to meet the slightly increased appropriations for 1917-18.

4. EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

Since the close of the Civil War Missouri has made considerable progress in the field of education. Although the State began to establish elementary schools early after its admission into the Union, these institutions were very inferior at the time the war broke out. This was due largely to the lack of funds with which to support them.¹ Public education was not generally popular in Missouri at that time, notwithstanding the fact that the constitution of the State declared that "schools should be forever encouraged." Most people favored academies or parochial schools which were maintained by the private enterprise of individuals or by the church. It was not so much because of the superior character of these private institutions (for most of them were not any better than public schools), but because they were private institutions and hence had a restricted patronage that they were held in high esteem by most persons in Missouri prior to the Civil War. As far as the field of secondary education was cultivated at all, it was done by these private academies, whose number scarcely exceeded two hundred in Missouri in 1850. The academy

**Education
in Missouri
Prior to
the Civil
War**

¹ The sources of income of the public elementary schools were at that time about the same as to-day, that is, township funds, county funds, State fund, appropriations from the general State revenue, and local taxes. But the sum total of income derived from these sources was very small and was quite inadequate.



was primarily a secondary institution, but it usually offered instruction in elementary subjects also.

In the realm of higher education there was even less done than in that of secondary education. The State University had, it is true, been founded in 1839, but it was as yet without financial support from the State and had but a handful of students. Although five other members of the present college union of Missouri had been chartered by 1860, namely, St. Louis University (1832), William Jewel College (1840), Westminster College (1853), Washington University (1853), and Central College (1855), they were, like the State University, very limited in their faculties and meager in their equipment.¹ Outside of mathematics and the classics, the courses of study in all these institutions of higher learning were not as advanced as those of a good high school of to-day. Moreover, there was not a single institution in the State, public or private, that gave any attention to the preparation of teachers. It is not at all surprising, therefore, that under these circumstances the elementary and secondary schools of the State, both private and public, were of a very ordinary character.

Education
during the
Civil War

During the Civil War all forms of educational effort were seriously interfered with. Not only did the State discontinue making appropriations out of the general revenues for the support of public schools and divert the income from the State school fund to other purposes, but in most communities local school taxes were no longer levied. The result was that most of the public schools were closed during practically the whole period of the war. Secondary and collegiate institutions, including the University and several of the colleges, were forced to suspend either for a part or the whole of the period. Serious damage was done in many cases to the property of these in-

¹ All of these institutions but William Jewel College were actually founded before they were chartered, and some of them had been operating for several years prior to being granted a charter.



stitutions, and various educational projects that were about to be inaugurated in 1860 had to be abandoned altogether.

From these disastrous effects of the war the educational system of Missouri was a long time recovering. The "Drake Constitution" of 1865 contained some very wholesome provisions regarding education, and serious efforts were made by State Superintendent Parker to rehabilitate the schools throughout the State on the basis of these provisions.

**Education
since the
Civil War**

The legislature passed a set of laws in 1867 known as the "Parker Laws," which provided for a very elaborate school system, but which proved "too theoretical and centralizing to receive the support of the people." Public education had not been popular in Missouri before the war, and the effects of that conflict were to make the task of building up popular sentiment in favor of it all the more difficult.

**1. Elemen-
tary Schools**

The scheme as outlined by Parker in 1867 failed and was superseded in 1874 by another framed by Superintendent Monteith. This proved to be somewhat more acceptable and it has formed the basis of the present school system of the State. The essential feature in the system that was established in 1874, as compared with the one attempted in the Parker laws, was the almost complete control which the people of the school districts acquired over their schools. They were authorized to select the school directors, determine the length of term of the school, levy the taxes for the maintenance of the school and for the erection of schoolhouses, and to elect the county commissioner, now the county superintendent. Recently efforts have been made to substitute for this popular control established in 1874 some of the features of the more centralized scheme of Parker of 1867. But the scheme of popular control and direction as adopted in 1874 has remained essentially unchanged down to the present.



ginning to acquire equipment for work that would not have been dreamed of by town schools twenty-five years ago.

2. High
Schools

We see evidences also of great improvement in the high schools of the State. As a matter of fact, the public high school had not yet come into existence in the State by 1874, except in the large cities such as St. Louis, Kansas City, St. Joseph, and the like. In 1917 there were in Missouri 236 first class high schools, 93 second class, and 206 third class, besides 118 unclassified schools, many of which are strenuously striving to become classified.¹ Among these high schools are a number of rural township high schools which have been made possible by the consolidation of rural school districts. Many of the city high schools, some of which are classified, are beautifully housed and are equipped with excellent apparatus and appliances.² A great improvement in the *personnel* of the public school teachers is also noticeable. The requirements for the certification of teachers have been raised from time to time, especially in recent years, and notwithstanding the fact that their salaries have not increased in proportion to the additional requirements for certification, the teachers have very nobly responded to the demands that have been made upon them.

If space would permit, considerable attention might be given to such recent matters as the establishment of the system of county supervision of schools, the granting of special State aid to weak school districts, the lengthening of the term of school, the compulsory attendance law, the teacher-training courses, and the like. Each of

¹ There were in 1899 only 27 high schools on the approved list of first class high schools, 38 on the list of second class high schools, and 65 on the list of third class high schools.

² It is highly significant that with the improvement of the public high schools the private academies have declined, most of them having passed completely out of existence. There were only 17 approved academies operating in the State in 1916.



these topics is indicative of some advance made by the State in education. But while they cannot be discussed here, a word or two must be said about the development of the higher institutions of learning since the Civil War.

The University of Missouri was made possible through the grant of two sections of land by the National Government to the State at the time when the people were authorized to draft a constitution and establish a State government. The constitution of 1820 provided that the

3. University of Missouri



UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI, 1874

The main building in the center was burned in 1892. The president's home on the left and the building on the right (now used by the School of Journalism) are still standing.

legislature should undertake to improve the lands that had thus been given for the support of a University, and further provided that it should furnish means for the improvement and permanent security of the funds and endowments of the University. It was not, however, until 1839 that the State undertook to make provision for the founding of the University, and it was not until 1867 that it gave the University any direct financial support. Between 1839 and 1867 the University depended upon the income from the seminary fund and from tuition fees. In 1867, however, the legislature appropriated \$10,000 for the rebuilding of the home of the president of the University, and further granted to the institution $1\frac{3}{4}$ per



cent of the State revenue after deducting 25 per cent of that revenue for the support of the common schools.



MAIN BUILDING OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI

As it appeared before it was destroyed by fire in 1892. The columns of the front portico are still standing on the University campus. They can be seen in the next picture of the University.

From that time to the present the University has received regular appropriations from the State. In addition the



JAMES S. ROLLINS

The father of the University of Missouri.

University also receives annually a regular income from the seminary fund, which is its permanent endowment, and it also receives an annual appropriation from the National Government for certain purposes.

From time to time the University has enlarged the scope of its work until it now maintains—besides the college of arts and sciences, and the schools of law, medicine, education, engineering, and journalism—a college of agricultu-

ral and mechanical arts, and a graduate department. There is also a School of Mines and Metallurgy at Rolla which, although nominally a part of the State University, has recently become virtually a separate institution. The influence of the University upon the school system of



BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI IN 1907

The columns of the original main building are seen in the center of the foreground. In recent years a new quadrangle has been built to the left of the one shown in this picture. The new library building stands between the two quadrangles.

Missouri has been most noticeable in raising the standard of the high schools.

The State maintains five normal schools for the preparation of teachers for its public schools. Those at Kirksville¹ and Warrensburg were established in 1870 and 1871 respectively, that at Cape Girardeau in 1873, and those at Springfield and Maryville in 1905. From these institutions have come thousands of students who have served the State in every department

4. Normal
Schools

¹ The school at Kirksville was founded originally as a private normal school by Joseph Baldwin in 1867 and was adopted as a State normal school in 1870.



of school work, from teaching in the humblest rural schools¹ to superintendencies of city systems. Within the last ten years these normal schools have become virtually teachers' colleges, their courses of study for the B. S. degree in education requiring 120 semester hours or four full years of work beyond the approved four-year high school course.

Colleges



JOSEPH BALDWIN

Founder of the Kirksville State Normal School and of the system of State normal schools in Missouri.

Besides the University of Missouri and the normal schools there are a number of institutions in the State that are doing work beyond the high school, eleven of which constitute the college union. This union was formed in 1893 and was composed then of only seven institutions—namely, the University of Missouri, Washington University, Central College, Westminster College, William Jewel College, Drury College, and Missouri Valley College. Since then Park College, Tarkio College, Central Wesleyan College, and St. Louis University have been admitted into the union. No institution can become a member of this organization unless it requires of its students four years of academic study beyond the high school course, has a faculty of at least six teachers giving a minimum of nine hours a week to college in-

¹ Lincoln Institute at Jefferson City was established in 1866 for the industrial training of negroes and the preparation of teachers for negro schools in the State.

struction, and has a productive endowment of at least \$100,000.

There are also seven junior colleges in the State which are doing two years of college work under the supervision and approval of the State University. These are Christian College, Cottey College, Hardin College, Howard Payne College, Lindenwood College, Stephens College, and William Woods College, all of which are seminaries for women.

Notwithstanding the advance that has been made in the field of education in Missouri since the Civil War, there is considerable room for further improvement. In many things Missouri is yet lagging behind. For example, a start has scarcely been made in the consolidation of the rural and village districts; but with the inauguration of the system of good roads provided for by the legislature in 1917, it is expected that consolidation will become more popular than it has ever been before. It is also hoped that something can be done to raise Missouri from the disgraceful position that it now occupies of twentieth in the nation in point of literacy. Four and three tenths per cent of its population cannot read and write.

**Needed
Improvements**

5. PROHIBITION MOVEMENT

In recent years there has been a notable development of sentiment throughout the State in favor of the prohibition of the liquor traffic. In 1887 the first steps toward limiting the traffic were taken by the passage of a local option law which gave to the people of corporate towns of 2500 population or more and to the people of the counties outside of such corporate towns the right to determine for themselves whether intoxicating liquors should be sold in their respective communities or not. During the next two or three years many towns and communities voted themselves "dry" under this law, but in a great many instances the elections were declared by the

**Local
Option Law
of 1887**



courts to be illegal on technical grounds. For a time interest in the local option laws died down, but in the



“WET” AND “DRY” MAP OF MISSOURI, 1917

The “dry” counties are white; the “wet” counties are shaded. The “wet” towns in “dry” counties are indicated by black dots; the “dry” towns in “wet” counties by white dots.

Of the 114 counties in Missouri, 85 are totally “dry,” 14 partially so, and 15 are totally “wet.” The city of St. Louis is “wet.” There are 39 cities of over 2500 population that are “dry.” There are 16 “wet” cities in “dry” counties, and four “dry” cities in “wet” counties.

The sixteen “wet” towns in “dry” counties are Boonville, Brookfield, Cartersville, Carthage, Excelsior Springs, Hannibal, Huntsville, Joplin, Kansas City, Louisiana, Moberly, Monett, Palmyra, Sedalia, Springfield, and Webb City. The four “dry” cities in “wet” counties are Higginsville, Kirkwood, Sikeston, and Webster Groves.

late nineties it was revived, and county after county and town after town voted itself “dry.” In 1917 more than ninety-six counties and thirty-eight towns of

more than 2500 population were "dry." It is interesting to note the distribution of the "wet" counties as shown by the accompanying map. With only two exceptions all of them lie along the Missouri and the Mississippi rivers. The German element is very large in most of these counties.

The greatest strongholds of the liquor traffic have been in the cities. The rural districts have very easily been captured by the prohibition forces. But many a county has gone "dry" while its leading town or towns have remained "wet" and have thus neutralized in a very decided manner the will of the people in the rural parts of the county. For example, eleven of the ninety-nine "dry" counties contain at the present time (1918) sixteen "wet" towns of more than 2500 inhabitants. A few years ago the number of "wet" towns in "dry" counties was still larger in proportion. Because of the ill effects that have followed from having "wet" towns in "dry" counties, there have been numerous efforts to get the legislature of Missouri to pass a county unit law that would give each county as a whole the right to decide the liquor question and take away from the towns of more than 2500 the right which they now have of acting independently of the counties within which they lie. The legislature finally passed such a law in 1913, but before the law could be put into operation, it was referred to the people by means of a referendum petition and was defeated at the general election in 1914 by a vote of 311,000 to 172,000. The large vote cast against it was due partly to the habit which the people had acquired of voting against all constitutional amendments and legislative proposals submitted to them.

The constitutional amendment prohibiting the sale and manufacture of intoxicating liquors throughout the State has been submitted twice to the people of Missouri (1910 and 1916) and defeated each time. In 1910 the vote stood 425,406 to 207,281, giving the "wets" a majority

**County
Unit Law**

**Constitu-
tional
Amendment**



of 218,125. In 1916 the vote stood 416,826 to 294,298, giving the "wets" a reduced majority of 122,528. From all indications the amendment which the legislature of 1917 authorized should be voted upon in November, 1918, will be adopted by a good sized majority. In 1916, the amendment was carried in the State outside of St. Louis by 5003: It was carried in that year in seventy-four counties, including Jackson County,¹ while in 1900 it was carried in only twenty-nine counties. The prohibition sentiment has recently grown so fast in the State that it seems fairly safe to say that not only will the prohibition amendment to the State constitution be adopted by the people in 1918 by a good majority, but that the legislature will approve in 1919 a similar amendment to the National Constitution which Congress has recently submitted to the states for their consideration.

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APPENDIX

The following tables of Governors of Missouri and of United States Senators from Missouri have been adapted from The Official Manual of the State of Missouri for 1913-14, Cornelius Roach, Secretary of State.

GOVERNORS OF MISSOURI — 1820 TO 1918

| NAME | COUNTY | ELECTED | REMARKS |
|--------------------------|----------------|------------------|---|
| Alexander McNair..... | St. Louis..... | August, 1820.... | Died March 18, 1826. |
| Frederick Bates..... | St. Louis..... | August, 1824.... | Died August 4, 1825. |
| Abraham J. Williams.... | Boone..... | Pres. Senate.... | Vice, Bates; died in Columbia, December 30, 1839. |
| John Miller..... | Cooper..... | Dec. 8, 1825.... | Special election to fill vacancy. |
| John Miller..... | Cooper..... | August, 1828.... | Died at Florissant, March 18, 1846. |
| Daniel Dunklin..... | Washington.... | August, 1832.... | Died August 25, 1844. |
| Lilburn W. Boggs..... | Jackson..... | August, 1836.... | Died at Napa Valley, Cal., March 14, 1860. |
| Thomas Reynolds..... | Howard..... | August, 1840.... | February 9, 1844; committed suicide at the mansion. |
| M. M. Marmaduke..... | Saline..... | Lieut.-Gov..... | Died March 26, 1864. |
| John C. Edwards..... | Cole..... | August, 1844.... | Died in Stockton, Cal., September 14, 1888. |
| Austin A. King..... | Ray..... | August, 1848.... | Died April 22, 1870. |
| Sterling Price..... | Chariton..... | August, 1852.... | Died in St. Louis, September 29, 1867. |
| Trusten Polk..... | St. Louis..... | August, 1856.... | Elected U. S. Senator, February, 1857; died April 16, 1876. |
| Hancock Jackson..... | Randolph..... | Lieut.-Gov..... | Died in Salem, Ore., March 19, 1876. |
| Robert M. Stewart..... | Buchanan..... | August, 1857.... | To fill vacancy; died September 21, 1871. |
| Claiborne F. Jackson.... | Saline..... | August, 1860.... | Died in Ark., December, 1862. |
| Hamilton R. Gamble.... | St. Louis..... | Appointed..... | By convention, July 31, 1861; died January 31, 1864. |
| Willard P. Hall..... | Buchanan..... | Lieut.-Gov..... | Vice, Gamble; died November 2, 1882. |
| Thomas C. Fletcher.... | St. Louis..... | November, 1864 | Died in Washington, D. C., March 25, 1899. |
| Joseph W. McClurg.... | Camden..... | November, 1868. | Died in Lebanon, December 2, 1900. |
| B. Gratz Brown..... | St. Louis..... | November, 1870. | Died at Kirkwood, December 13, 1885. |
| Silas Woodson..... | Buchanan..... | November, 1872 | Died November 9, 1896. |
| Charles H. Hardin..... | Audrain..... | November, 1874. | Died July 29, 1892. |

HISTORY OF MISSOURI

| NAME | COUNTY | ELECTED | REMARKS |
|-------------------------|------------------|-----------------|---|
| John S. Phelps..... | Greene..... | November, 1876. | Died November 20, 1886. |
| Thos. T. Crittenden.... | Johnson..... | November, 1880. | Died May 29, 1909, in Kansas City. |
| John S. Marmaduke.... | St. Louis City.. | November, 1884. | Died December 28, 1887. |
| Albert P. Morehouse.... | Nodaway..... | Lieut.-Gov..... | Suicide, September 30, 1891. |
| David R. Francis..... | St. Louis City.. | November, 1888. | Now Ambassador to Russia. |
| Wm. J. Stone..... | Vernon..... | November, 1892. | Elected to U. S. Senate in 1903; died April 14, 1918. |
| Lon V. Stephens..... | Cooper..... | November, 1896. | Now in St. Louis. |
| Alexander M. Dockery.. | Daviess..... | November, 1900. | Now Third Asst. P. M. General. |
| Joseph W. Folk..... | St. Louis..... | November, 1904. | Now in St. Louis. |
| Herbert S. Hadley..... | Jackson..... | November, 1908. | Now in Kansas City. |
| Elliott W. Major..... | Pike..... | November, 1912. | Now in St. Louis. |
| Frederick D. Gardner.. | St. Louis City.. | November, 1916. | |

UNITED STATES SENATORS FROM MISSOURI

From 1820 to 1918

| WHEN ELECTED | NAME | POLITICS | RESIDENCE |
|--------------|----------------------------|-------------------|-----------------|
| 1820..... | (1) David Barton..... | Democrat..... | Howard. |
| 1820..... | (2) Thos. H. Benton..... | "..... | St. Louis. |
| 1824..... | David Barton..... | "..... | Howard. |
| 1826..... | Thomas H. Benton..... | "..... | St. Louis. |
| 1830..... | Alexander Buckner..... | "..... | Cape Girardeau. |
| 1832..... | Thos. H. Benton..... | "..... | St. Louis. |
| 1834..... | (3) Lewis F. Linn..... | "..... | Ste. Genevieve. |
| 1836..... | Lewis F. Linn..... | "..... | Ste. Genevieve. |
| 1838..... | Thos. H. Benton..... | "..... | St. Louis. |
| 1842..... | (4) Lewis F. Linn..... | "..... | Cape Girardeau. |
| 1843..... | David R. Atchison..... | "..... | Platte. |
| 1844..... | David R. Atchison..... | "..... | Platte. |
| 1844..... | Thos. H. Benton..... | "..... | St. Louis. |
| 1849..... | David R. Atchison..... | "..... | Platte. |
| 1851..... | Henry S. Geyer..... | Whig..... | St. Louis. |
| 1857..... | James S. Green..... | Democrat..... | Lewis. |
| 1857..... | (5) Trusten Polk..... | "..... | St. Louis. |
| 1861..... | (6) Waldo P. Johnson..... | "..... | St. Clair. |
| 1862..... | (7) Robert Wilson..... | Conservative..... | Andrew. |
| 1862..... | (8) John B. Henderson..... | Republican..... | Pike. |
| 1863..... | (9) B. Gratz Brown..... | "..... | St. Louis. |
| 1867..... | (10) Charles D. Drake..... | "..... | St. Louis. |
| 1869..... | Carl Schurz..... | "..... | St. Louis. |
| 1870..... | (11) Daniel F. Jewett..... | "..... | St. Louis. |

| WHEN ELECTED | NAME | POLITICS | RESIDENCE |
|--------------|------------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| 1871..... | (12) Francis P. Blair..... | Democrat..... | St. Louis. |
| 1873..... | (13) Lewis V. Bogy..... | "..... | St. Louis. |
| 1875..... | Francis M. Cockrell..... | "..... | Johnson. |
| 1877..... | (14) David H. Armstrong..... | "..... | St. Louis. |
| 1879..... | (15) James Shields..... | "..... | Carroll. |
| 1879..... | Geo. G. Vest..... | "..... | Pettis. |
| 1881..... | Francis M. Cockrell..... | "..... | Johnson. |
| 1885..... | Geo. G. Vest..... | "..... | Jackson. |
| 1887..... | Francis M. Cockrell..... | "..... | Johnson. |
| 1891..... | Geo. G. Vest..... | "..... | Jackson. |
| 1893..... | Francis M. Cockrell..... | "..... | Johnson. |
| 1897..... | Geo. G. Vest..... | "..... | Jackson. |
| 1899..... | Francis M. Cockrell..... | "..... | Johnson. |
| 1903..... | William Joel Stone..... | "..... | Jefferson City. |
| 1905..... | William Warner..... | Republican..... | Kansas City. |
| 1909..... | William Joel Stone..... | Democrat..... | Jefferson City. |
| 1911..... | James A. Reed..... | "..... | Kansas City. |
| 1914..... | (16) William Joel Stone..... | "..... | Jefferson City. |
| 1916..... | (17) James A. Reed..... | "..... | Kansas City. |

- (1) Admitted to seat December, 1821.
(2) Admitted to seat December, 1821.
(3) Appointed to succeed Alexander Buckner, who died of cholera in 1833.
(4) Died October 3, 1843, and was succeeded by David R. Atchison, who served until 1855.
(5) Expelled from the Senate on charges of disloyalty, January 10, 1862.
(6) Charged with disloyalty and expelled from the Senate January 10, 1862.
(7) Appointed by Provisional Governor Hall in the absence of Governor Gamble.
(8) Appointed by Provisional Governor Hall in the absence of Governor Gamble.
(9) Elected for term ending March 4, 1867.
(10) Resigned in 1871 to become a judge of the U. S. Court of Claims at Washington, D. C.
(11) Appointed to succeed Charles D. Drake until meeting of Legislature.
(12) Elected to serve remainder of term of Charles D. Drake.
(13) Died September 20, 1877.
(14) Appointed September 27, 1877, to succeed Lewis V. Bogy until meeting of Legislature.
(15) Elected January 21, 1879, to serve remainder of term of Lewis V. Bogy, March 4, 1879.
(16) Died April 14, 1918.
(17) Term expires March 4, 1923.



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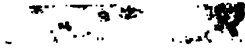
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